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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 September 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## Briefs

New Polish-Soviet Border Crossing 1

## ALBANIA

Problems in Transferring Workers Discussed  
(Thimi Nika; ZERI POPULLIT, 27 Jul 84)..... 2

## BULGARIA

Commander of Military Academy Dwells on Training Program  
(Gancho Stoyanov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 18 Jul 84)..... 5

Report on Improvement in Training Airmen  
(Stoyan Yanakiev; NARODNA ARMIYA, 18 Jul 84)..... 8

Eminent Writer Urges Elimination of Foreign Words  
(Nikolay Khaytov; TRUD, 18 Jul 84)..... 9

Private Produce Markets Expanding, Industry To Be Emphasized  
(Viktor Meier; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 9 Aug 84)..... 12

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Yak MP Description, Uses Published  
(Martin Velek; LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA, No 12, 1984)..... 15

## HUNGARY

Analysis of Orwell's 1984 (Istvan Hermann; MAGYAR TUDOMANY, Mar 84).....	23
Mass Communications Viewed by Pollsters (Tamas Szecsko; SZAKZERVEZETI SZEMLE, Jun 84).....	31

## POLAND

Relations Between Militia, Prosecutors Defined (Jozef Zyta; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 30 Jul 84).....	38
Activities of Military Retiree Association Described (Julian Bilski; WOJSKO LUDOWE, No 4, Apr 84).....	44
History, Mission of Border Guard Discussed (Feliks Stramik Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 8 Jun 84).....	50
Primate Clarifies Statement on Church, State Relations (Jozef Cardinal Glemp Interview; PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, No 1, 24 Jun 84).....	55
Western Coverage of Nowakowski Case Ridiculed (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 12 Jul 84).....	61
PZPR's Orzechowski Challenges Adam Schaff (Wojciech Pulkowski; ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY, No 28/29, 12-15 Jul 84).....	65
New Law on Planning Commission (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 35, 19 Jul 84).....	69
New 'NOT' Leadership Roster (PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY, No 29, 15 Jul 84).....	74



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

NEW POLISH-SOVIET BORDER CROSSING--A new Polish-Soviet border crossing point was opened on 30 July at Kukuryky in Biala Podlaska Province, Terespol township. This new border crossing point, the third such installation on the territory of this province, is designed to serve transit motor vehicle traffic. The structures that make up this border crossing station were built over a short period of time with considerable assistance from the Soviet side. At the same time, the Kukuryky station, by taking over responsibility for expediting commercial freight traffic, will help the existing border crossing station at Terespol to do a better job of handling tourist traffic. The new border crossing station was formally opened for service by Yuri Brezhnev, first vice minister of foreign trade of the USSR, Kondrat Tyerekh, vice premier of the Byelorussian SSR, and Gen. Bde. Lucjan Czubinski, vice minister of Internal Affairs of the PPR. [Excerpts] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/1153

PROBLEMS IN TRANSFERRING WORKERS DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Thimi Nika: "We Proved To Be Unsuitable But We Are Not Finding Any Other Work"]

[Text] Someone is truly unfit for one workplace, but is fit for another sector. There is no reason to set up barricades: "We will not take him, they have dismissed him as unfit". The nomenclature organs have the task of systematizing, as soon as possible, the workers who are dismissed as unfit.

The scientific research institutions are not easy places to work in. It happens that some cadres who are appointed to them do not prove themselves and are then not capable of occupying themselves with scholarly activity. This is told to them openly, they are reasoned with and convinced. This is a positive matter, as the party instructs that the way is barred to mediocrity so that the usefulness of scientific work in these institutes may increase. But we will not discuss this matter in this article, nor will we discuss this type of institution alone, but something else which is closely connected with it.

Proving people unsuitable is one side of the matter. The other, probably no less important, side is their dismissal or, rather, finding a job for them. "If we remove them, where do we send them?" This is another problem which preoccupies the head of various institutes or enterprises. This demonstrates the concern that they have for our people. If someone or other is unsuited for a certain job, this does not mean that he should be thrown out on the street (such a thing does not happen in our society); on the contrary, he must be placed in another job that corresponds to his abilities and where he can contribute more.

"If we remove him, where will we send him?" There are also cases where this preoccupation is not made concrete. Thus, for example, it is proven that someone is unfit for a certain job and although months and years pass, another suitable job is not found for him. In this way, the remains at his former job. At the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology, for example, about 5 years ago, a worker was proven unfit and it was said that he must be transferred. On this occasion, the required references and documentation were prepared.

But to this day he has not been transferred, "What can we do?" asked the secretary of the basic party organization of this institute, Filloreta Dhamo. "We proved that he is unfit, but we cannot find him any other work," she said. "We have discussed this case several times in the party organization, both in the directorate and in the collective. We have even brought it up at the Ministry of Health. The conclusion: nothing." At the Ministry of Health, the inspector of the directorate of cadres, Lamce SHEME, who knows this case well, told us: "This is a story that has dragged on for 5 years. At the beginning it was the nomenclature organ of the party committee of Tirana region No 1. It did not find him a job. With the new resolution on nomenclatures, the matter passed back to us. We have made many efforts. We have gone to the executive committee of the people's council of the district, but they did not resolve anything for us. We spoke with the comrades of the directorate of cadres at the Ministry of Agriculture, because the man is an agronomist, and again they did not find him a job appropriate to his abilities."

If this were the only case, it would not be worth writing about. But there are other such cases. For example, some time ago jobs were found, with great difficulty, for cadres who had been proven unfit at the Institute of Soils Studies. Why did this happen? There are various reasons. There is not a clear understanding even in some organs in the nomenclature that an unfit person is equivalent to having a vacancy. Experience indicates that if a person is proven unfit and it is decided to remove him to another job, when such a matter drags on for a long time, years even, as in the example above, either he does not work at all or his labor productivity will be extremely low and then the thought tortures him every day, "I'll be fired today, I'll be fired tomorrow," and in this way he has no mind for his work. His mental state is also aggravated, all the more in cases when he himself is not firmly convinced that his removal from this job is necessary and to the benefit of the work, as well as to his own advantage.

Naturally, the transfer of cadres is not an easy matter. But it is also not impossible. There are difficulties, but they can be surmounted. There are various solutions. Among them is the rotation of cadres from the basic institute and vice versa. The nomenclature organs have the task of arranging this. A more serious commitment is required of them in these cases. Are there examples of this? Yes, there are. Recently, for example, in the study and design Institute for Mechanics, two workers from the sectors were proven to be unsuitable. At the beginning, they were not convinced of this. They even did their utmost not to be transferred. One of them wrote a long letter of explanation which needed about 50 hours of meetings. At the beginning, the nomenclature organ hesitated to transfer them. Later, however, when it evaluated the problem correctly in terms of the fact that unsuitable workers were employed in a scientific research institute, it transferred them, finding jobs for them in accordance with their abilities.

In cases of transfers of unsuitable workers from an institute, a better predisposition is also required on the part of the directorates of enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives where they are placed after transfer from their former job. It must not happen that barricades

are set up, as in some cases: "We will not take him, they dismissed him from x or y enterprise or institution as unfit." Such attitudes compel the directorates of these institutions either wrongfully to change the motivation of the transfer (which constitutes an error of principle) or to withdraw into passivity with the thought: "We made efforts, but did not achieve any results. What else can we do?"

In order to free the institutions, enterprises, etc., from unsuitable workers, the nomenclature organs have important tasks. Only by correctly evaluating these tasks will they fill these jobs with trained cadres who have prospects and who will justify themselves as well as possible by results in production and serious study, especially when the matter involves the scientific research institutions, where this problem appears to be more pressing.

12249

CSO: 2100/57

COMMANDER OF MILITARY ACADEMY DWELLS ON TRAINING PROGRAM

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Major General Gancho Stoyanov, commander of the V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy: "Worthy of the Name of the Apostle"]

[Text] On 18 July the personnel of the Higher People's Military Academy will celebrate the 147th anniversary of the birthdate of its patron, the titan of our national liberation revolution, Vasil Levski. The oldest military education institution in the country was established as a result of the revolutionary transformation of the Bulgarian Army Military School, which existed prior to 9 September 1944, and quickly turned into a true forge of officer cadres.

During his visit to the school in 1947, G. Dimitrov clearly formulated the task for the commander-educator personnel: "May thousands and thousands of Vasil Levskis graduate from our school..." This sacred instruction of the leader and educator of the Bulgarian people is being carried out faithfully, it lives and it will continue through time.

Under the unceasing concern of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, and the beneficial influence of Soviet military science, the Higher People's Military Academy continues to grow and contribute vitally to the consolidation of the defense powers in our native land.

The school, which is located in one of the prettier rayons of the old capital city, today has a contemporary material and technical basis, pleasant living and educational quarters, various sports facilities. The treasure of the Vasil Levski Higher People's Military Academy, however, is most of all the highly trained personnel, the commanders, educators, and students who are boundlessly loyal to the party.

The school's commanders, guided by the requirements of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the resolutions of the National Party Conference on high quality everywhere and in everything, submit the whole system of training the commander and educator staff to constructive, critical analysis. The founding principle in carrying out this activity is the formulation that is the basis of the long-term program endorsed by the National Party Conference: "It is now necessary that all cadres know more, do better, and possess significant professional training and creative resources."

As a result of our concerns, the scientific potential of the cadres has increased, the number of associate professors, candidates of science, and post-graduate students has increased.

All this makes it possible for the efforts of the commander-educator staff to be oriented to an educational process that is in compliance with the achievements of scientific-technical progress, the requirements of the National Party Conference, and the military-political situation. In this respect, officers Nenchev, Simov, Rusev, and Tsonkov put a lot of creativity and initiative into their daily work.

The complexity of military science makes our work of turning students into active participants in the curriculum, which is being intensified and intellectualized, even more urgent. It requires, on its part, a qualitative change in the contents, organization, style, forms, methods, and criteria of the teaching process.

In order to keep in mind the teaching effectiveness of the school, socio-psychological research on the relationship between the school environment, students' personalities, and the performance of young officers in the combat units is carried out periodically. We require that commanders and instructors use all the possibilities offered by the curriculum for giving the students thorough and long-lasting ideological-political, engineering-technical, and special military knowledge, for establishing high moral and combat qualities in them.

Bringing educational work closer to the actual situation is unthinkable without providing the necessary material conditions. This is why, at the cost of great tension among the staff, we build new offices, training fields, and firing ranges, which contribute even more to improving and reinforcing the practical habits of the future generation of commanders, political workers, staff officers, and service chiefs in the Bulgarian People's Army.

The increasing interaction between departments has had a favorable influence on teaching. The joint sessions and scientific developments of the departments chaired by Genchev, Petkov, and Tsanov make it possible to coordinate the efforts of the commander-instructor personnel, to seek new, highly efficient forms and methods of education and training.

We systematically and consistently solve the tasks of transforming the school into a standard of rigorous, established regulation. We pay serious attention to the students' living conditions, discipline in the educational process, and carrying out round-the-clock duties. We have improved the maintenance of combat equipment and the work on upgrading mobilizational combat readiness.

We still have a lot of work to do in this respect, because we are aware that even more worthwhile, purposeful activity is necessary for improving the army's social environment. We strive not to make our struggle against

negative phenomena an end in itself, but rather to consider this struggle an important device for improving collective and individual awareness, for improving the results of the educational and training process.

The patriotic and international education of the students is directed toward kindling the feeling of affection for our socialist fatherland and the great Soviet nation, toward strengthening combat friendship with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other fraternal nations. Our goal is to be able to teach our students an active, vital position. This is a complex, multilateral, and contradictory process, though. Including the future officers in various practical and social activities--training, scientific, creative, political, educational work--is a decisive feature for realizing it.

In this connection, we stimulate the students' participation in the National Students' Political Competition, the students' scientific sessions and olympiads. Significant progress in the last year was noted in this regard. The athletic success as well as the school's achievements in festivals of military amateur art activities are well known in army social circles.

The analysis of the work of the best commanders and instructors, such as officers Krotev, Ivanov, Nanov, Astardzhiev, and others, demonstrates that their successes are due to the improved command-organizational activity, to their ability to use the forces of the party and Komsomol organizations.

By evaluating the state of our school, its place and role, the successes and difficulties, we can make the following general conclusion with complete certainty: the school's personnel is closely in line with the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy always has been, is, and will be a loyal supporter of the communist party and the people's government.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the establishment of the Bulgarian People's Army, on the day of celebrating the birthday of our patron, we will work even more persistently on fulfilling the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the National Party Conference by training highly prepared young officers, zealous patriots and internationalists, unyielding defenders of peace and socialism.

12334

CSO: 2200/166

REPORT ON IMPROVEMENT IN TRAINING AIRMEN

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Major Stoyan Yanakiev, military pilot instructor first class (correspondent for NARODNA ARMIYA): "On Accident-Free Flights"]

[Text] "High Quality in flying instruction is a guarantee of accident-free flights." A flying methods conference took place under this slogan at the subdivision in which Officer Stefan Dimitrov serves; instructors and commanders at the military aviation academy shared their experiences.

At the very beginning, the chief of the Higher People's Military Aviation Academy and meritorious pilot of the Bulgarian People's Republic Major General Dimitur Karadzhikov announced: "To see constantly new forms, methods, and means of instruction and of guidance in socialist competition--this is the path to methodical mastery. Now we should have the possibility of acquainting ourselves with what has been accomplished in this regard as a result of the broad implementation of technical progress."

For the past 2 years they have been experimenting in the subdivision with preliminary preparation for flights by implementing technical means. This was carried out for the unit by Captain Dimitur Velikov, and then for the squadron by Officer Pencho Penchev. The initial results are heartening: not one student went over the planned number of transport flights.

After that, Officer Vladimir Tushev laid out in detail the order for conducting the training; in one of the offices, Captain Kalin Krotnev demonstrated the use of training films, slides, audio tapes, etc. The pre-eminence of the new methods of training are indisputable. Using them fully engages the aural and visual memory of the students. Examination, movement, and dynamism will ensure the rapid incorporation of the flight's dynamics.

Officers Bachev, Vulchev, Nachev, Riladzhiev, Karemov, Toshkovski, Uzunchev, and others stressed in their contributions that it is necessary as soon as possible to raise even higher the standard of flight methodology training of instructors and commanders in compliance with the requirements of the National Party Conference.

Finally, the hosts demonstrated another valuable acquisition: a cozy building at the starting command point, built with their own efforts and materials. It is equipped with living quarters and rooms for checking on the guiding flights.



EMINENT WRITER URGES ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN WORDS

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Nikolay Khaytov: "Why a Law to Preserve the Bulgarian Language Is Needed"]

[Test] The crisis in our contemporary language is an invasion of foreignisms! Their involvement in our language is incomprehensible, uncontrolled, and unjustified by any necessity, replacing sonorous, fully unambiguous Bulgarian words; this involvement leads to the gradual de-Bulgarization of our native language, to alienation from it. This process is in full swing now, and only blind people still fail to see it.

Evidence? It is in your hands every morning when you read a newspaper or a journal. Give this task a try: count the foreign words and you will be convinced, with the aid of the simplest arithmetic, that at the present time, the percentage of foreign words (replaceable and irreplaceable) hovers around 30 percent. I am speaking about the language in the daily press and periodicals, of speeches and reports, not about scholarly or popular science publications, where the situation is much more alarming. If everything keeps going this way, the time will come when native words will become the minority in our language, when we will see threatened not only our language's quality, its inherent characteristic Bulgarian melodiousness, its semantic and expressive energy, but simply its physical integrity, and indirectly related to this, the originality of our literature and culture, its whole future.

The mistake in the extent of crisis situations in our language has been reflected in the counteractive measures. To put it briefly, these measures have not gone to the root of the evil. I have the impression that we are trying to heal the tree of our language: while we have been spraying the leaves with a Bordeaux mixture, we have not looked at all at the trunk, which is infested by a multitude of woodworms.

Before establishing and setting out measures for healing our language, especially measures for limiting the parasitical foreignisms, including numerous superfluous terms, we have to seek the primary reasons for the unusual, if not downright criminal, hospitality which we display for these foreignisms.

One of the most important of these reasons is the mistaken purposefulness of the university education for teachers of the Bulgarian language, of future journalists and editors. There is a sharp difference between the old university textbooks and some of the new ones. In the old ones you are aware of the love and admiration for the native language, complete faith in its semantic and expressive powers, but in the new ones, particularly in certain specialized disciplines in linguistics, I did not find even one approving word for the Bulgarian language.

What should a law on the preservation and development of the Bulgarian language contain?

It should have in it, first of all, a mandatory requirement that the press, radio, television, book publishers, and those who compose official documents resort to using foreign words only in those cases when there is no equivalent Bulgarian word.

To ensure preconditions for creating Bulgarian terminology in all fields of technology, science, and economics, and to forbid the use of terms and names, no matter what kind, if they can be replaced by Bulgarian ones.

There should be a mandatory requirement that all textbooks at all levels of education employ pure Bulgarian language, and that the use of foreignisms, which could be replaced, be strictly forbidden.

To observe and be especially concerned about the teaching of those scholarly disciplines at universities which are connected with language, to give priority to scholarly treatments which reveal the rich possibilities of our native language and its superior achievements in literature.

To introduce the study of the Bulgarian language at universities in all aspects of higher education.

In order to ensure, in an organized way, that the law about the preservation and development of the Bulgarian language is observed, we have to create, at the State Council, a supreme council for the development and preservation of the Bulgarian language, with no more than 12 members, under the leadership of the vice chairman of the Committee for Cultural Values. This council should be given the assignment of creating a set of regulations for applying the law on the preservation and development of the Bulgarian language, where they would take into consideration the administrative punishments of those who break the law. It would be the supreme council, with the necessary powers, which would carry out the single language policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Within the supreme council, there should be created a special group (or groups), composed of linguists and specialists from all spheres of science, technology, and economics, that would work out Bulgarian terminology, and its applications should be obligatory for all people.

The supreme council, composed of outstanding creators from the language professions--poets, writers, publicists, and linguists--should meet periodically to examine and decide on all problems which touch on the development of language, and their decisions should be mandatory for all units of science, education, and administration.

What I am calling for in connection with the law could and should be put into effect, enriched, and realized with even more important elements and "features," but one thing is certain to me: without this law we cannot create the illusion that something will be done about our language.

12334

CSO: 2200/166

PRIVATE PRODUCE MARKETS EXPANDING, INDUSTRY TO BE EMPHASIZED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Aug 84 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Sofia's New Economic Mechanism--In Bulgaria, a Modern, Open Spirit Is Starting To Stir"]

[Text] In the vicinity of the "Vitosha" hotel, a large-capacity complex built by the Japanese on the hills above Sofia, there is a small market where strawberries, cherries, vegetables and scrubbed new potatoes are offered for sale. "All of it is from our own garden," says the woman at the stall. She says she has bought a ticket and thus is allowed to sell her goods today and tomorrow. Further up at the highway on Sofia's perimeter, there are farmers selling their strawberries without any permit. Later we were told that the prices on the private markets may exceed the prices of the state trade organization by maximally 30 to 40 percent. The difference in quality is obvious.

Private markets are not a new phenomenon, but now their number is increasing rapidly and the assortment of goods is getting ever more varied. Here one can see the effects of the new economic mechanism and the new economic policy that are making their way in Bulgaria--without any great proclamations, but systematically and ever more rapidly. In the last 3 to 4 years, it has been possible in the agricultural sector to lease land for private production. Originally, it was said this was land that for economic reasons was not needed and not cultivated by the collective cooperatives. Presently one hears that some of the collective farms--which on account of various reforms have grown to be large-scale complexes in the last few years--interpret the term "uneconomical" rather broadly. Formerly, Bulgaria was considered a "country of gardeners." Accordingly, the demand for the leaseholds is great. Reportedly, the private "auxiliary farms" already account for 7 percent of the cultivable area. The results can be seen on the private markets.

An official informant told us that at the last CEMA summit Bulgaria was gratified to find support for its traditional policy of treating equally agriculture and industry. He said that in contrast to Romania Bulgaria had stopped long ago to consider the agricultural sector the "primary source of actualization" and that it was possibly for this reason that industrial production had been somewhat lagging. But there were no serious supply problems, he claimed; agrarian raw and processed products accounted for 30 to 40 percent of Bulgaria's exports and yet it was possible to satisfy domestic demand.

There are some other aspects of its policy that Sofia can consider to have been justified by the last CEMA conference. We were told that at the conference the differences in economic organization had been emphatically recognized and that except for economic policy, synchronization had not been requested--neither in regard to the system nor in regard to the plans; but even in the field of economic policy "unification" was no longer possible, nor was it intended. Official informants in Sofia emphasized that Bulgaria was not one of the socialist countries that wanted to criticize Hungary--something the Czechs had been doing. The CEMA communique had called for "improvement of the division of labor," but not for self-sufficiency, they said.

This comment by itself shows the present drift of Bulgaria's economic interests. Trade with the socialist countries still accounts for 72 to 75 percent of the country's foreign-trade volume; in contrast to the situation of a few years ago, however, Sofia's policy makers are also concerned with participation in the world market and above all with the structuring of exports. While the country does not want to stop exporting agricultural raw and processed products, which probably account for approximately 50 percent of the overall volume of trade with the West, it wants to add supplementary exports of industrial products. This is quite difficult, however, as it requires not only enormous investments, but also overall improvement of quality in all fields. It is to this end that the new economic mechanism has been initiated.

In seven so-called lectures he delivered last winter, Todor Zhivkov, secretary of the Party and head of state, provided what could be termed an ideological interpretation of this new economic mechanism, thus making it compulsory reading for all functionaries. This fact alone is quite significant, for in communist states the process of implementation of new concepts--from their intellectual elaboration to their introduction into the enterprises and administrative offices--has always been extremely protracted. In all quarters, an attempt is being made to move the decision-making closer to the production process; the enterprises need not focus as much on the plan targets and are given more freedom to decide how they are going to meet these targets. The plan imposed from above is followed by a "counterplan" of the enterprise.

The Bulgarian reformers are impatient enough to draw certain lessons from developments in Yugoslavia and Hungary. In Sofia, it was pointed out to us that under Socialism reform projects had far too long been fixated on the panacea of decentralization; one should take into consideration that decentralization and relegation of too many decisions to the enterprise level may lead in the enterprise concerned to tunnel vision, laziness and aversion to innovation--a problem that Hungary was being confronted with already. According to these sources, Bulgaria's main concern is technical progress in industrial production and under the prevailing conditions this progress can be assured only through centralized planning and centralized decrees. "The Bulgarian economy is about the size of General Motors," someone told us, "and at General Motors there is a high degree of centralized operational and investment planning."

We were told that the so-called introduction of the new economic mechanism was running on two tracks, as it were, as "ordinary" decisions were being relegated to the enterprises, i.e. decentralized, while "innovative" decisions going beyond the enterprise level entailed maintenance or even expansion of the centralized decision-making process coupled with modern "scientific" deliberations. Under this system, the National Bank and all monetary factors are to assume increasing importance; we were told that even today a large percentage of the investment funds made available was being distributed by the National Bank on the basis of applications.

Many observers hold that the Bulgarian reforms actually do not go very far. To some extent, this impression may derive from the fact that the outward organization of life and the appearance of the political system are obviously changing much more slowly than the economic doctrines. But behind the old forms of public political life--forms dating back to the Byzantine period and the Ottoman Empire--a modern, open spirit is starting to stir in this country.

8760

CSO: 2300/615

YAK MP DESCRIPTION, USES PUBLISHED

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 12, 1984 pp 17-19

[Article by Martin Velek: "Yak MP" (published under permanent feature "Air Forces of Allied Armed Forces" and based on data from Polish periodicals TECHNIKA LOTNICZNA I ASTRONAUTYCZNA No 11, 1983; MORZE No 2, 1984; WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY No 5-6, 1983 and German periodical ARMEE RUNDSCHAU No 8, 1982)]

[Text] Almost daily we keep hearing reports about the arrival of one or another fleet of the American Navy to one or another ocean, to this or that shore.

The heart of the American fleets, neatly numbered for order's sake, are aircraft carriers that come equipped with not only fighter and antisubmarine aircraft, but also with planes capable of carrying nuclear arms. The Pentagon has never made any particular secret of the presence of nuclear bombs and warheads on American aircraft carriers; as things are, the absolute majority of large aircraft carriers of the U.S. Navy is classified in class A-Attack, meaning that they are intended for attack missions.

The Soviet Union has proclaimed many times that it is not endeavoring to gain superiority in the number and quality of armaments, but that it is forced to maintain the balance of power in the interest and peace and security. This applies to naval forces as well. However, Soviet vessels carrying combat aircraft show a substantial difference from their American equivalents. They are smaller and their design and equipment is oriented exclusively toward defense.

In the summer of 1976 a Soviet aircraft carrier bearing the inscription "Kiev" on its stern commenced its shakedown cruise in the waters of the Black Sea.

In addition to helicopters, it carried on board vertical take-off combat jet aircraft, i.e., aircraft of a category that the West has been proclaiming to be its exclusive domain.

As soon as the ship passed through the Bosphorus into the Mediterranean Sea it was surrounded by swarms of patrol and reconnaissance Orions, Nimrods and Canberras attempting to take the first photographs of the aircraft and of the ship.

NATO classified the aircraft without any delay as "fighters," giving them a code name starting with the letter F--Forger. In view of the fact that not quite a decade ago in Domodedov Yakovlev's vertical take-off experimental aircraft Yak-36 (Freehand) made its appearance, the new on-board aircraft of the VTOL category was designated as Yakovlev's design. The correctness of determining the designer confirmed the words of chief designer A. S. Yakovlev, who on several occasions referred to his work on vertical take-off combat aircraft.

Yakovlev's ship-borne aircraft--which the Polish periodical MORZE of this February referred to as Yak-38 and which has been known up to now as Yak-36MP (morskoy palubny [seagoing on-board aircraft])--originated in 1971 on the basis of the experience with the type Yak-36 and, probably, also with the use of efforts developed by the design bureaus of P. O. Sukhoy and A. I. Mikoyan in the development of aircraft of the VSTOL category using lift-thrust engines--e.g., the Su-15VD/DPD (DPD dopolnitel'nye pod'omnye dvigateli [auxiliary lift-thrust engines]). The original design of Yak 36 with two rotary discharge jets at its center of gravity must have been less suitable for a combat aircraft capable of vertical take-off, landing and hovering.

Thus, the Yak-38 (36MP) under development received behind its cockpit two lift-thrust engines (henceforth ZM) of Kolesov's design with 35 kN (kiloNewtons) of thrust each. Air intake into these engines is provided through an upward-tilting flap suspended in the rear, containing suction ports opened by manifold depression according to the immediate state of the pressure field in the area of the ZM's input system. The ports close automatically, by springs, during transition from vertical to horizontal flight and during flap closure. Under the fuselage the heat-resistant parts of the ZM discharge jets serve as deflectors or, rather, the two-dimensional jet for adjustment of the ZMs' thrust vector. Thus, their position changes automatically during take off and landing.

Lyulk's AL-21 was selected as the main propulsion unit with a "dry" thrust of around 80 kN. This engine serves in the Yak as a load-bearing engine, supplemented by the pair of ZM's, and also as a propelling engine during horizontal flight. This latter function is facilitated by two rotary discharge jets connected to a forked discharge conduit. The engines are fed fuel from fuselage tanks located ahead and behind the AL-21 engine.

The given arrangement of propelling units--in which the main unit has two rotary discharge jets in the rear part of the fuselage and the ZM's are far ahead of them--makes it possible to control the longitudinal incline of the fuselage (and balance it) by controlling the ZM's thrust. For that reason the Yak-38 does not have at its nose and tail jets of reactive rudders for pitch control. Rolling and changing direction at flight modes in which ailerons and directional rudders are still idle is controlled by reactive rudders at wing tips and sides of the end taper of the fuselage (behind VOP). The reactive rudders are supplied with compressed air fed from the AL-21 engine's compressor.



The Yak-38 (alias 36MP) has been in production since 1975. However, in contrast to its British counterpart, the Harrier, with which it forms a truly exclusive guild of operationally used VTOL aircraft, from its very inception it has served aboard ships. Its debut occurred on the "Kiev", referred to in Soviet sources as an antisubmarine cruiser. This mightily armed vessel with a displacement estimated at 40,000 tons is 276 m long, sports a misaligned deck without catapults, and in addition to 12 Yaks it carries the Kamov Ka-25 antisubmarine helicopters.

The vertical take-off Yak serves on the "Kiev" and its sister ships "Minsk" and "Novorossiysk" as a direct support aircraft and also carries out reconnaissance and intercept missions. The Yak's semimonocoque fuselage with oval cross-section is made of aluminum alloys. It carries in its nose a single-seater cockpit with an ejection seat which, in relation to the type of landing or take-off maneuver, must have a "zero/zero" characteristic. The cockpit cover tilts to the right, its rigid shield is made of armored glass and below is one of many various sensors.

At the sides are found input systems feeding air to the engine. It uses plate-type boundary layer separators and many suction flaps, which increase the effective diameter of intakes at slow speeds and during hovering. These were not found in the original Yak 36MP, nor were two pairs of racks at air intakes to the ZM's and at the bottom of the fuselage.

Suction intake of hot gases poor in oxygen drastically reduces the engines' output. That, after all, is confirmed by experiences gained with the Harrier, which for that reason virtually bristle in their latest versions with various aerodynamic barriers, slats and vortex fillets.

In the massive part of the fuselage are hidden electronic systems to which air is fed for cooling by an air trap in the prolonged SOP dorsal fin. The radar equipment is located under a dielectric ogee in the nose.

The Yak lands on the deck by means of a tricycle landing gear. Its nose wheel retracts to the rear, the main wheels, supported on almost vertical hydro-pneumatic springing and attenuating units, are retracted into the fuselage. The tail is protected by a combination tail skid/bumper.

The trapezoidal semimonocoque wing is conspicuous in its small dimensions. Its leading edge has a 45-degree backsweep, profile thickness of approximately 6 percent and a negative dihedral. To save space on the deck and in the hangar its external parts with ailerons can be tilted upward. The rigid internal sections of the wing contain Fowler's slotted flap and two pairs of weapons racks to which are attached all armaments. The weight of weapons suspended below the fuselage and wings reaches 2,600-3,600 kg and is formed by various combinations of containers with the GS-23 double-barrel 23 mm cannons, rocket launchers for unguided missiles, bombs, antiaircraft and antiarmor guided missiles (targeted against ships) and auxiliary fuel tanks.

### Key Technical Data (Approximate)

Wingspan	7.3m
Wingspan with wing folded	4.9m
Length	15.5m
Length of trainer version	17.7m
Height	4.3m
Wing area	18.5m sq
Max. take-off weight	11,700 kg
Max. weight of suspended attachments	3,600 kg
Max. speed in H = 0	1,110 km/h
Max. Mach number at high altitudes	1.05
Ceiling	12,000 m
Range with armaments	480 km
Flying time with two auxiliary tanks and two guided missiles	1 h 20 min

The Yak has conventional tail surfaces with articulated VOP and SOP. In take-off and landing the aircraft uses a complex system for automatic synchronization of engine operation, aerodynamic and reactive rudders, stabilization and guidance.

Thanks to this system, automatic landing with the aid of the on-board laser guidance system shows virtually unbelievable precision.

As it takes off vertically upward, at a height of 5 to 6 m above the deck it lowers its nose by 5 degrees below the horizon, performs a gradual transition to horizontal flight and accelerates to approximately 65 km/h. Upon reaching that speed it adjusts into the horizon, accelerates and at the same time rotates the jets of the main engine and closes the flap and ports of the lift-thrust engines. In returning to the deck it first starts the lift-thrust engines (opening the intake flap and ports of the discharge jets of the ZM's) and resets the main engine jets. The plane negotiates the last 400m to the ship at an altitude descending from 30 to 10-14m above the edge of the deck, where it is flying at a speed of only about 10 km. Then it goes into a hovering mode and lands vertically.

One two-seater Yak is used for routine training on the deck of all three aircraft carriers of the Soviet Navy. These aircraft differ by their elongated, somewhat sloping nose with room for two crew members with seats in tandem. The length and weight of the new nose is compensated for by a part of the fuselage added behind the wing--the total elongation of the trainer version is approximately 2.5 m; these aircraft carry neither armaments nor radar equipment.

The Yak 38's mission is primarily aerial support and of naval operations. It is predestined for such performance by its technical flight characteristics that allow it to take off not only from the deck of an antisubmarine cruiser or an airfield of limited dimensions, but also operation from other vessels, e.g., from troop landing ships.

The Yak-38 and its carriers serve as a Soviet counterbalance to American naval forces on the world's oceans and in so doing manifest the determination of the Soviet Union to defend peace against the forces of imperialism anywhere in the world.

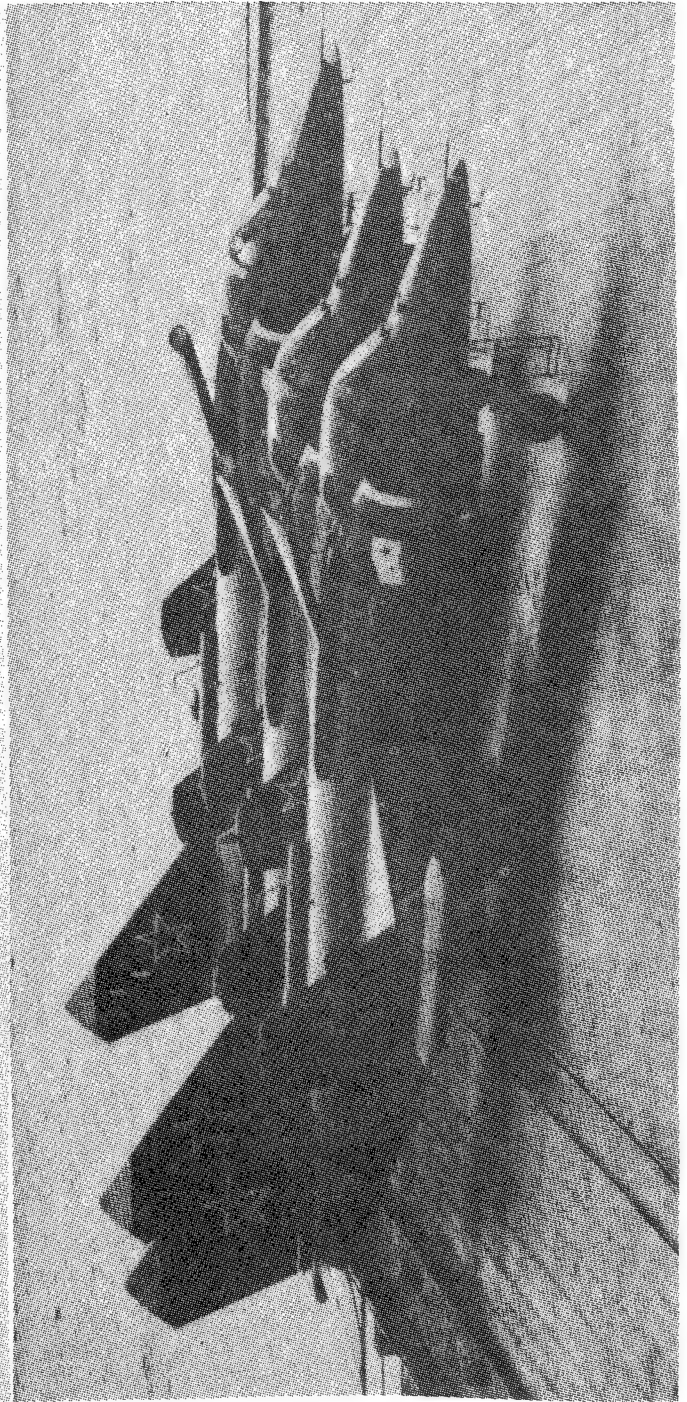
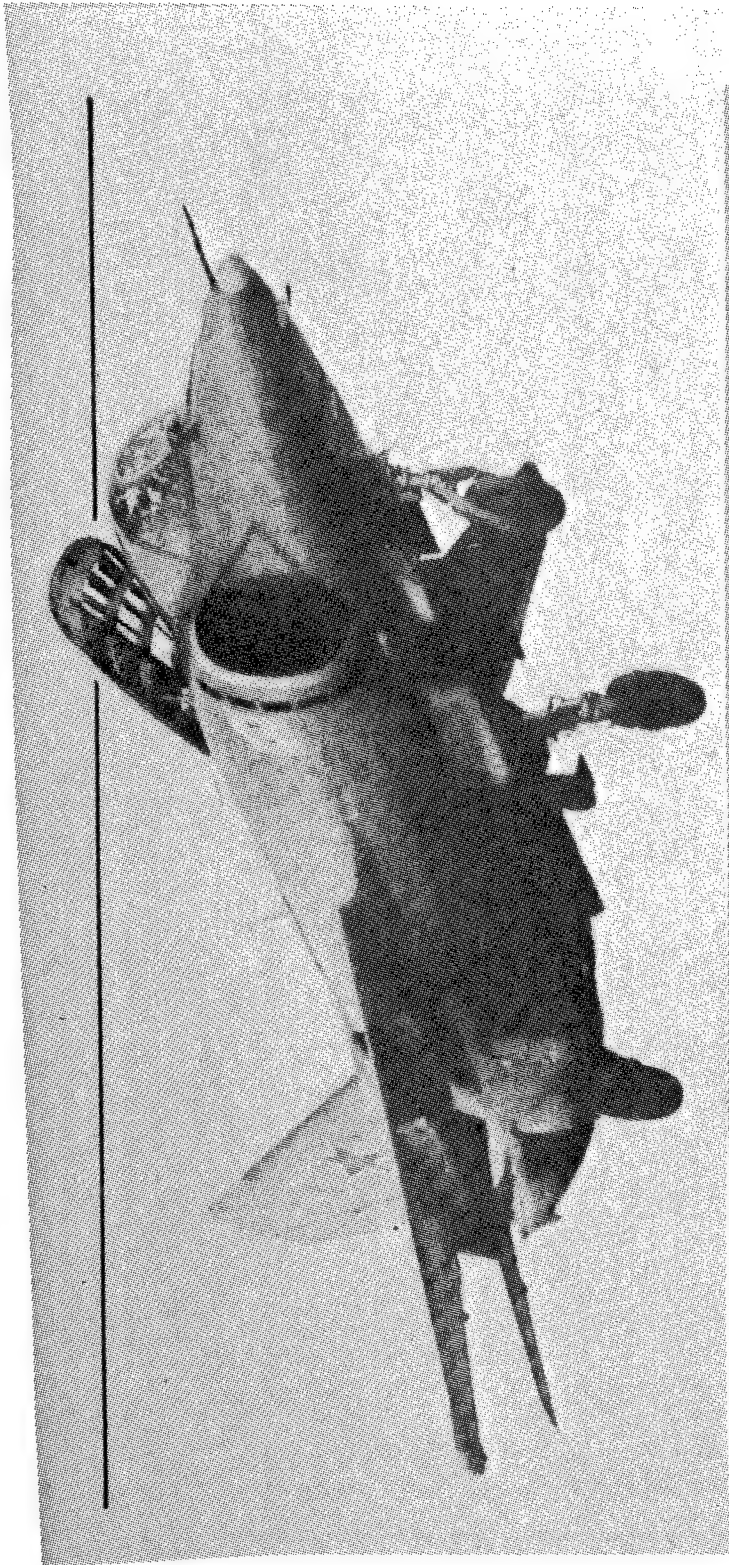
Thanks to the great amount of experience gained in the operation of the Yak 38 it would certainly be no surprise to see in the Soviet naval aviation of the mid-1980's the emergence of new successors of the "38". Soviet combat aircraft are always an economical, yet in all respects suitable pillar of the defensive doctrine of the Soviet armed forces, of which the Yak-38 is a typical example.

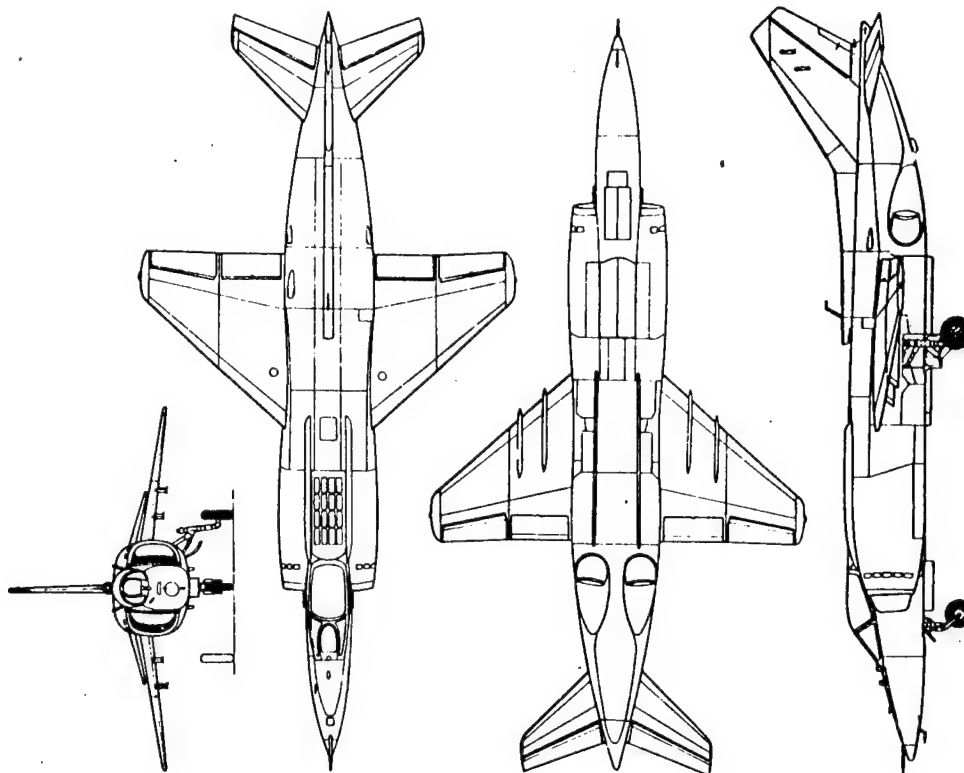
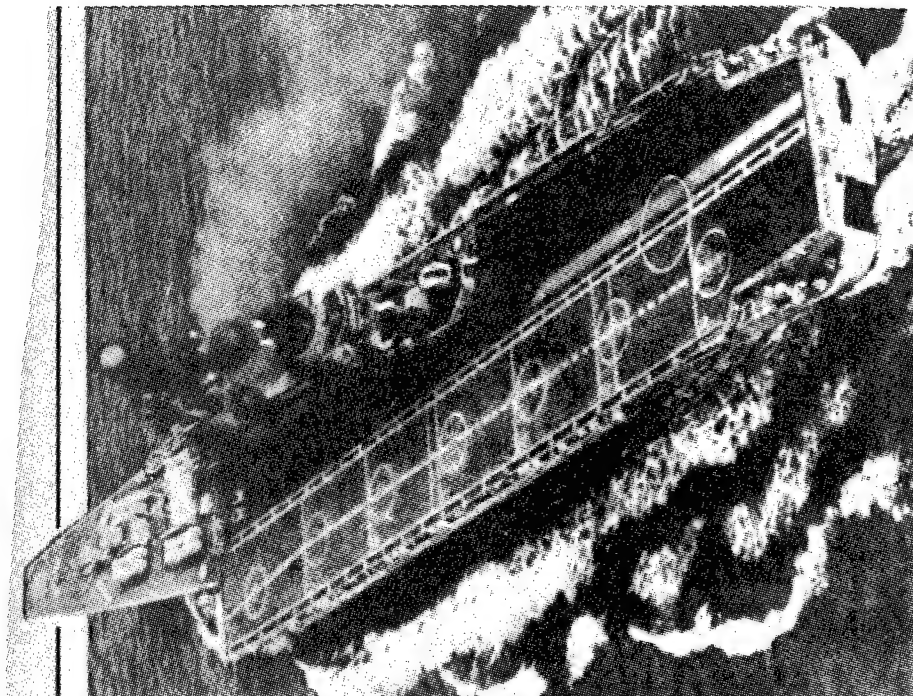
[Photographs on following pages]



To verify the technology used in vertical take-off and landing aircraft, Yakovlev's design bureau developed the experimental Yak-36, which was eventually introduced to the public at Domodedovo airport. The large cylindrical beam on the nose provided a sufficiently long arm for reactive control jets.







An aerial photograph of the antisubmarine cruiser "Kiev" and a drawing of the vertical take-off Yak aircraft, rest in activities on the stern of the flight deck of the cruiser "Minsk" and a "38" prior to landing--they all offer a view of the aircraft and its operational environment.

ANALYSIS OF ORWELL'S 1984

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian Mar. . . 84 pp 214-220

[Article by Istvan Hermann: "Orwell's 1984, in 1984"]

[Text] Hungary's reading public knows rather little about Orwell, even though Orwell was one of those English publicists who at the time fought in Spain on the side of the Spanish republic. Of course, he did not belong to one of the major official parties. And perhaps that very adventure that he himself came to the defense of the republic as a member of a small group, which later as a group found itself in the crossfire of the communist press and about which it was being said at the time that it represented Franco's Fifth Column--made Orwell critical of the communist principles. This experience, as well as the fact that in the meanwhile Arthur Kostler's novel entitled "Darkness at Noon" was published, which was the first information which endeavored to show the Moscow trials from within--all these had a serious effect on Orwell. Not only because Orwell himself wrote one of the best reviews about Kostler's book and not even only because Kostler remained near Orwell as his good friend and "prompter" constantly all the way until Orwell's death, but because Orwell was truly a committed believer in English civil liberalism.

In this spirit was born at the time of the war Orwell's first satire of world renown, "Animal Farm," which was saturated with statements like "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal". Or: "Four legs are good--two legs are bad." These thoughts, incredibly satirically brought to maturity by Orwell, were published in context in "Animal Farm," and in such context that after the time of "Animal Farm" Orwell used to be considered the Swift of modern England. And there is indeed in Orwell's last books something interestingly similar to Swift. That is, thematically meandering into extremes, the realm of stories which later really crosses over into cutting sarcasm.

It is obvious that it may also have contributed to the deepening of Orwell's satire that the publishing firm Faber and Farber rejected "Animal Farm" at the time of the war even though the book publisher's reader was T. S. Eliot who "recognized its merits as the merits of a story the level of which has been reached by few authors since Gulliver, but on the other hand he was not convinced that this was the story to be told at the moment."<sup>1</sup> Of course it could have served as satisfaction that as soon as the "Animal Farm" was published in August 1945 it at once made its author popular. In the time

period following this Orwell spends all his energies on writing "1984." "1984" is not sci-fi and not utopia in the usual sense. Even though it is being played in 1984, by which time the world is transformed and as a result of this transformation there are only three different divisions in the world as states and all three parts of the world have the same ideology, even though these states are constantly fighting each other. This constant fight determines their outwardly existence, this creates the internal tension within the London world described by Orwell, and this is the fight as a consequence of which there is the constant search for traitors and comes into existence the rather well disciplined but alienated existence which greatly characterizes the world sketched by Orwell.

Now we are in the very 1984 and therefore it has become very fashionable in the international press to compare the world of Orwell's novel with reality. Interestingly varied opinions have been voiced in the meanwhile according to which Orwell really grasped the civilian world. "One television documentary film states that the majority of Orwell's predictions about the nightmarishly centralized bureaucracy which sees everything, has already become reality in America. Furthermore, one series of articles uses the Orwellian expressions in such a way that it thereby denounces not only the systems based on authoritarian principles but also some of the tendencies of the Western societies." 2

The opinion of Erich Fromm was also quite similar. He felt that in Orwell's "1984" the reader can find a series of phenomena of the present Western society, inasmuch as he is able to get above his own "double thinking." But today's general opinion is that Orwell's predictions have not come true at all. For example, Amnon Rubinstein's already mentioned article emphasizes that private life in America and in the other Western societies has expanded the personal autonomy, and has done so in the area of sexual behavior as well as with respect to the right to suicide. The view which can be found in Orwell, that the modern world crushes the language, is not characteristic of today's society either.

John Wain also expresses similar opinions in the 289th issue of the magazine DER MONAT. According to him a system of the type which Orwell describes would not be able to function at all. That is, a society which has extremely well developed information technology and at the same time keeps a constant check on the members of the society, cannot stand for very long since many experts are needed to operate the equipment but such people cannot be trained in the case of constant suspicion of espionage. Tosco R. Fyvel also has a similar opinion in issue No 28 of the magazine entitled L. 80. According to him Orwell's novel represents a constant warning against the danger of the dehumanized collective.

What is seen from all these reflections above all is that almost everyone would expect from Orwell's novel that the year 1984 would in some sense resemble the



picture Orwell provided utopistically and non-utopistically, with bitter, Swiftian utopia. In my opinion this cannot be expected from any utopistic novel. Neither in 1984 nor later can England resemble the positive utopia of Tamas Morus or the negative utopia of certain parts of Swift's Gulliver (for example, the description of the circle of scientists). It would be impossible to expect from any kind of old theory that it would accurately and without errors predict conditions, the creation of which in no way depends and cannot depend on the time period in which either the theoretical work or the novel is born.

#### Problematic Sides of Orwell's Picture of the World

We have already mentioned how problematic Orwell's entire picture of the world became at the time of the war even for T. S. Eliot who can in no way be accused of being sympathetic to communism. This world outlook which fed in part on Orwell's experiences accumulated during the war as a news reporter, naturally did not correspond to the time period when England in alliance with the Soviet Union fought against the German fascism. But the Churchillian politics as early as at the end of the war not only permitted but almost demanded that the world view characterizing Orwell's "Animal Farm" should prevail. One of the intellectual authors was the relentlessly anti-Soviet Arthur Kostler. In the time period from 1945 to 49 the cold war tendencies developed even more and at that time Orwell's book represented the underpinnings of the cold war ideology.

In this sense the 1984 played an undoubtedly reactionary role and the progressive artists and philosophers --recognizing Orwell's satirical vein--in the final analysis internationally rejected Orwell's book. As a matter of fact, the series of phrases according to which: "War is nothing but peace, freedom is nothing but slavery, and ignorance is strength," plays a very strong role in Orwell's book. Obviously no movement existed even at the end of the 1940s which popularized or even accepted these or even similar phrases. One of the characteristics of Stalin's era was that everything that took place during this period happened in such a way that phrases like these could not emerge at all. The ideological thoughts of this era, defined in slogans, were those humanistic ideas which originated from Marx, representing continued development of classical German literature and philosophy. (It is a different matter that practice had twisted these around.)

Thus during the cold war era the decisive question for the progressive man in the Western societies was not whether or not a dehumanized society existed in the Soviet Union and in the socialist countries in general, but whether or not the peace can be preserved--vis-a-vis the imperialist endeavors. According to Orwell's description, which imagines the future in an extremely closed manner, there was no freedom of movement of any type at all for anyone in the world. The same story which according to Orwell's description took place in London could similarly have taken place actually somewhere else, for example, in Eastern Asia, Eurasia or Oceania--in a word, anywhere in the world. The essence of what Orwell depicts is that all types of space for movement disappear. But this was just as untrue with respect to the socialist countries as it was not true in the capitalist societies either.

Orwell could also very easily be blamed for stating that the entire society is organized in a way that within the society everyone is under complete observation in his book (the tool for this is the telescreen or remote viewing screen on which the script appears from time to time: "Big Brother can always see you"). And it is true that there existed such a tendency within socialism which more or less wanted to dissolve the private lives of people in the public life. There existed such a tendency which made the observation of people practically constant. And also there existed and there exists a similar tendency also in the civic society where the Watergate case is not the only one among those scandals which demonstrate to what extent the control over private life really exists. And very often, as we also saw from one of the previous quotations, the writer of "1984" is also criticized because it is being said that complete bugging, complete observation of the private existence makes it impossible to train the experts of bugging.

But my opinion here is that here again the satiricist's error is that he makes the sphere of effect of that manipulation completely exclusive and all-encompassing, which has never been able to become comprehensive in any of its forms. This is true and in this my opinion agrees with those of Orwell's critics. But that complete dismemberment of private life where no aspect of private existence can be preserved at all, in reality even the most dogmatic and most manipulative tendencies have not been able to accomplish. But we are talking about a satire here, raising a word of caution against certain tendencies rather than prognosticating, and in the satire's sense Orwell really does have the right to depict a world which completely ends private existence and completely dissolves it in the so-called public life.

Thus the main fault of the novel--looking at it with today's eye--is that the manipulative world illustrated in it is completely closed, that no space for mobility is possible within or outside of this world. Being without space to move also means that people's spheres of thinking and intellectual profiles can develop only in a narrow area and thus the figures have in the final analysis no realistic overview either of their own situations or of society's situation.

But it also contributes to this situation that as a final result utopia as a sequence of events played in the future to today's reader appears rather as a sequence which has already taken place, as a world which his own society and probably all societies have already passed through in all respects. That is, he is engulfed by the feeling that he is reading a utopia which is much more like a historical novel but it does not really fill the bill as a historical novel either, because he does not recognize the old motivating springs of his own society. And even though this contradiction lends a piquant mood to reading the novel today it also generates the feeling that he is dealing with a literary and artistic method of illustration entirely unknown until now, which has live dimensions that one has to get used before one can enjoy them.

And last but not least the satire of "1984" shows the manipulated society on the basis of legalities arranged in an excessively rational manner. And this excessive rationality or the lack of this excessive rationality was at the same time

unpleasant and also had a relatively alleviating character in the dogmatic era. What do I mean by this? The fact that in Orwell's book there is the hierarchic relationship between the so-called inner and outer parties. Within the inner party there are no contradictions, there is no tension, the so-called inner party directs the party and the entire society completely without tension and in a centralized manner. That is, according to the satire's illustration unity is greatest and most monolithic in the very place where it is usually the least so in dogmatic times. Freedom from contradictions prevails in the very place from where at the time the most people came under suspicion and ultimately into the fate of arrest or execution.

And at the same time this same dogmatic system was constantly endeavoring to uncover its own very important allies within the strata outside the party; from among simple party members it suddenly elevated and placed into important positions people who stood ideologically rather far from the thinking of the era. It is a different question that external forcing tendencies and manipulations finally smoothed these people into the average picture of the era, but the gaps, "air pockets" existed here also--just as these existed also in history--which characterized the era.

#### Truths of the Satire's Contextual Nucleus

The most interesting episodes of Orwell's book could almost be listed item by item and the main merits of the book be seen in this. For example, the concept which he calls "two minutes of hate" indisputably designates a social institution which constantly, again and again makes people aware not only of the need to hate but also that the official order to hate and collective remembering in the form of the two-minute hatred orients one towards the concept of hatred itself and towards its object, and at the same time also orients one spiritually. The "double think" is also a similar concept which ultimately makes the so-called partisan distortion of objective facts necessary and so is, for example, that the "Newlanguage" or "Newspeak" is introduced. This also is an Orwellian invention which fully corresponds to what in this country used to be called "cadre language" which includes the concept of vigilance as well as nonvigilance and being big-mouthed, and it is clear that this language had its own vocabulary as well as syntax practically all its own.

Thus Orwell undoubtedly took aim at those phenomena partly on the basis of his own experiences and partly on the basis of information supplied by Kostler, which phenomena were extremely well developed in the era of dogmatism, and which as phenomena became the objects of satire with him--and this satire was intelligent satire. It was intelligent as long as the satire concentrated on internal problems and did not begin to indicate that neither space for movement nor any kind of opportunity remained for people outside of this rather closed and in itself strong world.

In the same way it could also be emphasized that as the novel relays the writings of one Emmanuel Goldstein fashioned after Trotsky, where among other things we can read the following: "The split in intelligence which the party demands of its

members and which is easier to achieve in the war atmosphere, is now nearly universal...War hysteria and hatred of the enemy is strongest right in the 'inner party.' It is often necessary for the 'inner party's' member to know in the interest of his ability to function that this or that war novelty is untrue. Often he may also know that there is something fabricated in the whole war...But such knowledge can easily be neutralized by the technique of double think...Every member of the 'inner party' believes in future victory because this is a tenet of faith.

This can be achieved by conquering more and more territory degree by degree and thus building up an excess of force, or by inventing some new and irresponsible weapon. Research is going on constantly in the interest of new weapons and it is one of those few remaining activities where inventive or speculative thinking is given any territory at all. At the moment science in the old sense is completely eliminated in Oceania. There is simply no word in Newspeak to designate science."

With respect to either the civic world or the socialist world all these are exaggerations and necessarily satirical exaggerations. The growth of science has not stopped in either world and the word science is not missing from the everyday language in either world. Neither is there any doubt that even though these tendencies could not have been viable in any of the existing societies, these tendencies nevertheless existed and their very existence gave Orwell the right to write his satire. But this is not where the biggest problem is. This is how Goldstein concludes his writing: "We have arrived at the central secret here. As we have seen, the party's mystique and especially the 'inner party's' mystique depends on the 'double think.' But that original motive, the never questioned instinct which first led to grabbing the power and created the 'double think,' the 'thought police,' etc. lies deeper than this." What is the real secret behind the entire "1984" and the representation of the whole dogmatism or manipulation?

All this comes to light when the novel's hero, Winston is arrested and subjected to various tortures. That is, there exist certain powers which according to the detective officer are authoritarian, but as a consequence of this very authoritarianism of theirs they necessarily produce the martyrs. The thinking is completely understandable on the basis of all the oppressions of the past--and here the detective as well as Orwell himself, by bringing them on a common denominator level completely without justification include fascism and the Stalin era--those who began to voice opposition in any question, were executed. But in this way they could create nothing but martyrs. And it does not produce them not because nobody is executed in "1984," since it is the perspective of Winston's arrest that finally he himself personally becomes one of those to be executed.

And yet, what is the difference? Primarily the fact, that he becomes a victim not as a martyr but that he goes through a unique educational process in life itself and also in the prison. The main goal is that in the final analysis the person reading Emmanuel Goldstein's book--before his death--should really come to

like Big Brother, about whom even that much cannot be ascertained whether he objectively exists or not. And if someone is successfully broken down to the extent that he is at a point where he renounces all opposition, independent thinking or independent feeling, then he is no longer a martyr but a victim who, like the other people, has arrived precisely at the same conclusion the people generally and collectively represent. Thus he is no martyr but a simple case.

And here in this very area is where the Orwellian satire becomes really threatening. Discrimination of the 'inner party' and party members or even the "double think" are merely surface phenomena compared to what Orwell describes in the area of changing the thinking. One of the most important tools of this is that not only the present but also the past can be changed. That joke, extremely popular in [Buda]Pest that "from now on, everything was different" [sic], can in the final analysis be traced back to Orwell's satire on the one hand, and on the other hand to that people's militia deputy commissar who way back at the time of the Council Republic issued an order worded about like this: "I appoint X. Y. former first lieutenant to former captain". And really the changing of the past is so much a part of this world that our hero writes the following into his diary: "In the old days, before the glorious revolution London was not the beautiful city as we know it today. It was a dark, filthy, miserable place where people could not find enough food, where hundreds and thousands of poor people had no boots on their feet, nor a roof over their head. Children had to work twelve hours a day for strict bosses who beat them when they worked too slowly, and they had nothing but bread and water for nourishment. But amid this horrible poverty there were a few big and beautiful houses where the rich people lived with their many servants who took care of them. These rich people were called capitalists. They were fat, ugly people with mean faces as can be seen from the picture shown on the next page."

Of course, changing the past and rationalizing an unrealistic past which never existed is only one--though dominant--episode in this rational-intellectual transformation. The essence of the entire satire is that the goal of satirical illustration is to show how the human mind can be manipulated in such a way that finally in the human mind not only the past becomes the object of "double thinking" but in everything that exists the thinking should seek out the element where at the moment relatively reassuring tendencies can be found. This is how it happens that finally Winston and his love, Julia suffer really not because chocolate is being rationed or because the "inner party people" in themselves are threatening. The real suffering derives from the conscious transformation which they must go through and as a result of which Winston does not become a martyr either but the novel concludes with the sentence that he came to love "Big Brother."

There is no doubt that, for example, in China's cultural revolution there was the so-called reeducation program, and there also is no doubt that in the era of dogmatism even those artists participated in creating the Rakosi book of psalms or works written in Stalin's memory who thought more freely than the average. It is therefore indisputable that in some episodes it appears as if at certain times "1984" was proven true in the most diverse social systems since

they became onedimensional, or in other areas (in China or in other socialist systems). For example, Leszek Kolakowski writes in his article entitled 'Truth and Lie in the Totalitarian Systems' that the normal political lies must be separated from the analog practice which exists in the totalitarian systems. In the first case the difference between truth and lie remains untouched. But in totalitarianism, as Orwell depicted it, the idea of truth is eliminated and thus the system itself cannot even be accused of lying. Kolakowski also points out that the art of manipulating history is very restricted. Intellectual and moral social sterilization is effective only as long as the regime demands passive obedience from its subjects. But if individual motivation is needed in crisis situations, the manipulation ceases to work. This is what happened to Stalinism during the war when the system was forced to mobilize the masses and had to reach back to the Russian historical symbols. A perfectly totalitarian society which consists of pliable subordinates is strong under relatively stable circumstances but it is very vulnerable in times of uncertainty. Therefore in his opinion a perfectly totalitarian regime can never come into existence.<sup>3</sup>

Thus in our days Orwell's tragedy is that everyone, whether he thinks in a prejudiced leftist or prejudiced rightist way, demands from the book that its satire be perfectly true. But satire is satire and not scientific prediction, and this can not even be expected from Orwell. In any case it is very interesting that a book written in its own time for absolutely reactionary purposes, is nowadays reflected in the above manner in the minds of the readers. That is, ultimately this book was able to generalize to the extent that today it is a warning and sarcastic description about all the dangerous tendencies aimed at this or that kind of manipulation of the mind. The 'habent sua fata libelli' [books have their own destiny] refers also to Orwell's book. More than 30 years had to elapse so that today's reader would feel this not to be the satire of today's socialist social order at all, on the contrary, that he should think that the tendencies described in it have so far been surpassed by today's society that this satire can in no way be made to apply directly to today's reality, but at the same time he also feels that ultimately this satire raises a warning against all those tendencies which would wish to accomplish manipulation of the human thinking and world of feelings.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Peter Lewis: "George Orwell; the Road to '1984'." New York--London, 1981 p 96.
2. Amnon Rubinstein: "Orwell's 1949 Vision is a Bad 1983 Forecast," INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE 7 December 1983.
3. Compare with DER MONAT, No 289.

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MASS COMMUNICATIONS VIEWED BY POLLSTERS

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian Jun '84 pp 31-36

[Interview with Tamas Szecsko, director of the Hungarian Radio and TV (MRT) Research Center for Mass Communications, by Robert Gal: "Mass Communications and Public Opinion Research"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The Research Center for Mass Communications is one of the important domestic workshops for public opinion research. You investigate public opinion, but what is public opinion?

[Answer] Without striving for an exact definition, I think it is possible to explain this concept most concretely in the following way: it is a form of expression of everyday awareness which includes conflictive and evaluative opinions; moreover, it deals mostly with community issues which lay claim to public interest. Public opinion is always of a political nature, and in it the views of individuals and groups clash. Conformity to rules in the shaping and evolution of public opinion--like, in general, conformity to rules in psychological mass phenomena--means much looser objectification than the phenomena of social consciousness or reflection forms, whether we think of cognitive phenomena in close relation to art or science.

[Question] Can public opinion be pinned down statistically?

[Answer] Naturally, if we take a suitable and representative sample from the population, and if we investigate an issue which really molds public opinion. Both conditions are important. In societies substantially larger than ours, in the United States and the Soviet Union, they are able to work with samples of 2 or 3 thousand.

[Question] What size samples does the Hungarian research center work with?

[Answer] Usually a thousand, but we do have inquiries where the sample is 3 or 4 thousand. The size of the sample depends partly on the research goal and partly on the depth of analysis. Of course, when it is a matter of quick surveys, when speed is the essential thing and it is not possible to analyze too deeply, then smaller samples are also sufficient. The size of the sample, however, is only one side of the inquiry. The other is that



we investigate an issue which really arouses people without the researcher or the questioner asking them about it, because the very great danger of public opinion polls is that we regard something as a public opinion about which people do not otherwise talk, but once we ask them about it, then their opinions emerge. In short, one of the possible difficulties of public opinion polls--which we must avoid--is that the researcher reads into the mass consciousness a public opinion where there isn't one.

[Question] Frequently--especially in the daily press--public opinion is classified, and one writes about professional, scientific, workplace, etc., public opinion. What is essentially meant by this?

[Answer] The majority of these expressions are, strictly speaking, metaphors, because, for example, the professional public opinion of chemists is not, in the proper sense of the word, a public opinion, since it is not a matter of the motion forms of everyday consciousness but rather the clash of professional standpoints expressed on some professional issues. In the exchange and circulation of professional opinions there are also subjective and everyday elements, and this displays to a small degree the characteristics of public opinion. In point of fact, the evolution of public opinion cuts through the boundaries of different social groups and strata. It is like a huge receptacle: into it flow professional opinions and unfounded opinions which subsist on completely peripheral, mobile and volatile rumors and scare stories. It is this very thing which is exciting and which makes it hard to pin down.

[Question] If I'm free to put it this way, then you investigate an invisible receptacle. The lay reader thinks that the Research Center for Mass Communications has all but one single task: it forms an opinion about the programs on Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television, it analyzes the individual programs' reception and degree of approval, and so forth. Is this correct?

[Answer] Roughly half our inquiries deal with mass communications, and the other half is direct public opinion research independent of mass communications activity. Right now--to give an entirely fresh example--a survey is under way on the reception for the switchover to the 40-hour workweek. This is an issue which stirs great masses of people, and we hope that the inquiry will be thorough, because they can form an opinion about it from direct experience. Our first nondefinitive observation is that the opinions are heterogeneous, conflictive, but this is utterly independent of mass communications activity. Because the 40-hour workweek would still be 40 hours if mass communications didn't discuss it at all. I must say that the print press is also, in effect, our research territory. Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to advance as far there as in electronic mass communications, where the demand is much more intense.

[Question] Can we phrase it this way then: this institution is the Mass Communications Research Center not only for Hungarian Radio and Television but also for Hungarian society?



[Answer] De facto, yes, and as of 1 January 1985, de jure as well, that is to say, this institutional form--in which we operate as a department of Radio and Television but carry out nationwide surveys--comes to an end. It has been very fruitful but has become antiquated for the world we live in. We can soon perform the same work as a self-contained, independent institution, and hopefully we will succeed in expanding.

[Question] Could we return to concrete activity: how many people work at the center and what do they research?

[Answer] The institute's work force is 80-85 persons, of whom approximately one-third are researchers, one-third are questioners (we have our own questioners, who are excellent and well-educated specialists) and one-third are on the administrative or editorial staff, because our own publications are quite numerous. Research departments operate which deal with mass communications inquiries or, more broadly, communications inquiries, because in order for us to understand the public opinion-shaping effect of a piece of news or political information--which enters the general consciousness through mass communications--or the regularity of its acceptance altogether, we must from time to time also analyze the nonmass communication forms of information exchange. I have previously mentioned rumors and scare stories, but we must also examine the institutionalized forms of news transmission which take place from mouth to mouth. Occasionally we handle linguistic studies as well, because the living language is that with which both mass communications and other communications channels operate. Among the mass communications studies let me single out one: the inroad of the new communications technologies into Hungarian society and its social, sociological and psychological effects. I'm thinking here of the cable television systems, which recently got the political green light, and the spread of videotaping. These things are present in our society; it's just that we haven't taken notice of them scientifically, institutionally or politically for a long time. I definitely must mention the future activity of direct-transmitting satellites. The first will be launched in Western Europe in 1985.

[Question] On the basis of these things, what is the future of mass communications likely to be? What kind of negative and positive consequences could the explosive development have?

[Answer] I consider it a great danger if these processes, these devices, these new communications solutions gain ground automatically, without adequate social consciousness. By social consciousness I mean that we must taken notice of the phenomena--which first become manifest in the economically developed countries--even when they are not yet in the country. We have to work out various alternative concepts: if it knocks on our door, then how do we let it in? We need a developmental strategy which can be adapted to our social scale of values.

[Question] Have steps already been taken in this direction?

[Answer] Hardly. The new communications solutions come in under the carpet. They stick their heads or their antennae out from under the carpet for a

short time, we try in vain to sweep them back and--pardon the analogy--when the swelling under the rug is big enough, that's when we realize that we should take a stand. But in the meantime 1 year, 2 years, 5 years have elapsed, and we can no longer create the alternatives the way we could have earlier. I also believe it is possible for the trade unions to have a big role in raising social consciousness. The other, which so far at least I consider to be of a high level, is that the mass communications system or, to be more precise, the development of society's communications system unambiguously points the way toward a system more decentralized than the present one, where the regional and local communities and collectives will have more possibilities to express themselves and have a forum for discussion of their problems than they did in the traditional mass communications system. In my opinion the trade unions can participate locally and directly in a very constructive manner not only in the use of mass communications, but in their shaping and development as well.

[Question] If a person reads the daily press, then he thinks he detects, on the one hand, the voice of amazement and astonishment, and, on the other hand, a certain fear in the face of new challenges.

[Answer] It is my view that in this connection a very correct standpoint for Hungarian information policy has developed, without separate decisions being made in this matter. Namely, that we can adequately take on this new series of challenges and we can suitably develop our scale of values in mass communications if we improve the quality of the products of the domestic communications system. Let us put it unequivocally: quality development makes it automatically possible for us to go on the offensive; otherwise we are forced onto the defensive. Our answer to the technical challenges is a nontechnical answer which results organically from the totality of our policy. If we represent an aggressive policy and ideology, an aggressive cultural policy, an aggressive information policy, then this does not result from the fact of artificial satellites but rather from that political concept of ours--it has broken down the language of information policy and cultural policy--which we have developed in past decades.

[Question] If I understand correctly, the most important answer to the challenges lies hidden in the improvement of the quality of information. What is your opinion of the effectiveness and rapidity of political information?

[Answer] In the long run the development is beyond question; the rapidity and reliability of information has increased. These are the criteria of good information. In the short run, of course, there are fluctuations. We have now been observing for the fifth consecutive year the structure of the economic and economic-policy material of the entire Hungarian mass communications system. It is evident from our analyses that--although with slow steps--economic policy information and propaganda are becoming more and more analytical, diverse and--from a certain viewpoint--critical; the ratio of "lacquered" or superficial materials is decreasing. One shortcoming is that the dissemination of material which is interspersed with analytical and critical elements and material which glosses over and

"lacquers" is not uniform in the whole mass communications product. More concretely: positive and critical subjects are not evenly distributed in the material broadcast during television's prime, early and late programming times; there are more critical voices in the time reserved for fringe programs characterized by a smaller viewership, and there is more positive, occasionally "lacquering" material in programs for the masses. An explanation for this phenomenon is that there is a multilevel public in this country, and we consciously make use of the public's multilevel structure. Thus there are events and information which call for a broad public, and these find their way onto the large communication media's programs which speak mostly to the masses, in prime viewing time, on radio, on TV or in large-circulation daily newspapers. Then there is information which is addressed to a narrower and narrower circle. The structure of the public is concentric.

[Question] At the end of last winter a very unusual incident kicked up a lot of dust: in their advertising space the daily newspapers brought to the attention of the general public the price increase of certain products with unregulated prices. What conclusion can be drawn from this?

[Answer] We have not carried out surveys in connection with price increases for 2 years, because the fact of price increases has become an element built into our economic mechanism, and it would thus be superfluous to return to it on every occasion. But as a private individual or as a sociologist, I feel that it was a major blunder to use this form for announcing the price increase. What is at issue here is that at that time the central plan direction mechanism developed the information and information-policy structure adequate for it. This was the outgrowth of a historical period. Today, when the step-by-step modification and modernization of the economic mechanism is the order of the day, the information system and the concrete form of information itself cannot keep track of the profound procedural changes at the pace which is necessary. I have no illusions that we will avoid such blunders in the future.

[Question] In what direction is the mass communications organization in Hungary actually moving?

[Answer] I would prefer not to deal with norms, partly because I'm unable to delineate exact prospects and partly because it is the politicians, not the researcher or the social scientist, who have to delineate the norms, the political norms. This is what I see clearly: one path of development is decentralization, the strengthening of local levels; the second is openness, the enhancement of society's openness; the third is the growth of society's cultural standard and political culture; and finally the fourth but not least is the information explosion, the complex development which points beyond the technical facts. In this information explosion the traditional mass communications system, the traditional telecommunications system and the traditional information system, the computer system, blend into one another; their autonomy disappears. As a consequence of this, people will be surrounded by an information milieu, by a quality information envelope which differs completely from the traditional one.

[Question] What does the sociologist see as the tension-provoking causes of the information explosion?

[Answer] I consider the tension-generating effects to be first and foremost an infrastructural problem, i.e., due to the underdevelopment of our infrastructural system it is in information-related activities that here and there to a large degree we fall short of the level which our general economic maturity would make necessary. I can mention examples: it is common knowledge that in telecommunications our telephone network is rudimentary and that in mass communications we have a low supply of color television sets. I know, of course, that a lot of money is necessary for the elimination of these problems, and we are not capable of it today. Alongside the infrastructural tensions there are also sociological and sociopsychological tensions. One of the sociological tensions stems from the fact that the new devices, the new communications possibilities are certainly rather expensive--especially at the outset. The stratification of our society is--and will be--such that those who are better supplied with information always obtain the newer communications possibilities, and those who are poor and occupy a place in the marginal, more peripheral social groups obtain fewer opportunities. The new and very valuable equipment sharpens this fact.

[Question] Am I free to say that in the next few years the social inequality in the acquisition, processing and use of information will grow?

[Answer] Yes, we must put it that way, and we have to face up to this fact. But it would be very dangerous to draw the demagogic conclusion from this that now we should prevent the spread of videotaping and the development of cable systems. This makes the situation contradictory: on the one hand, the inequality is really growing and, on the other hand, it is in the interest of society for these systems to be adapted, for a contribution to be made to the development of these systems even at the price of allocating central social energy sources.

[Question] Let's change the subject! We know Tamas Szecsko as someone who regularly on television acquaints us with the reception and approval index of programs. What is it that you can't report on then and there because of lack of time?

[Answer] I don't think it's possible to summarize in a few sentences observations which can be generalized. That program is not only the tip of the iceberg, at most it's a fragment of the tip. It is a fact--and the surveys confirm it unanimously--that the viewer has become much more selective in recent years than he was 5 or 10 years ago. The role of television as a magic box has come to an end, and viewers have become more mature. The second statement which can be generalized: we must invariably assume that during so-called prime time, from 8 pm to 9:30 or 10 pm, very great masses of people simultaneously sit in front of televisions. So a lot of thought must be given to television programming; the bigger the

audience, the more heterogeneous it necessarily is. For the program editors the "prime" refers only to time; for the audience, however, it refers to the program. Here occur most often the boomerang effects, where people mishear and misunderstand things.

[Question] As is evident from what has been said, television is no longer a magic box, and the viewers are more mature. Does this also mean that television has lost its monopoly in the dissemination of culture?

[Answer] I am convinced that the monopoly of Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television has come to an end. The role played by both in information and the spread of culture is developing in the direction of a hegemonic situation. The developmental tendencies--about which we have spoken--carry within themselves this transformation. It is difficult, of course, to switch from one year to another, from one period to another; much more flexible and open attention is necessary.

[Question] I propose that we end the conversation with one of the institute's interesting research topics: people's picture of the future.

[Answer] We are investigating to what degree the picture people have of the future is structured; what kind of fears and longings about the future live in them? Peace, as a positive value, occupies a central position in the picture of the future. It was somewhat surprising to us how important a role health received, a more important one than material things. What is a little depressing is that even in those questions where we would have liked to see the people being questioned let their imaginations run wild, it didn't succeed. In point of fact, we are able to apprehend public opinion's sober power of judgment as a very realistic approach. At the same time, the researcher is a little sorry that our social mechanisms do not encourage imagination and bold impulses in families' picture of the future.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN MILITIA, PROSECUTORS DEFINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Jul 84 pp 1,2

[Interview of Jozef Zyta, prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic, by Zaneta Semprich: "To Guard and Implement the Law Effectively, Rule of Law in All Areas of Life" ]

[Text] [Question] Before you were appointed to the post of prosecutor general of PRL (Polish People's Republic), you were the deputy prosecutor. Did the change in position also change your views of the problems that the prosecutor deals with or will deal with? As one of the persons responsible for harmony, order and safety in our country, what goals have you set for yourself?

[Answer] I have been a prosecutor for nearly 30 years, and in the administration of the PRL prosecutor's office itself for 6 years. In this situation, it is difficult to speak of a change in the "views" of the problems that the prosecutor is or should be concerned with only because of assuming the position of prosecutor general.

One of the foremost goals of the prosecutor's office as an organ formed to protect the rule of law is concern for uniformity in understanding and applying the principles of the policy of counteracting all infractions of the law, particularly infractions in the most threatening area of their manifestations.

It is clear that my being entrusted with the post of prosecutor general involves assuming personal responsibility for the whole activity of the prosecutor's office as well as for the propriety of its internal functioning.

The goals that I set for myself, and by the same token, for the whole apparatus of the prosecutor's office, arise from the total program of political, social, and economic development of the country set by the party and the highest state authorities.

The tasks of the prosecutor's office must be concentrated on a more effective ensuring of harmony, order and safety of the state and its citizens than prevailed heretofore. In the program adopted for action on the part of the prosecutor's office for the current year, we formulated and are effectively implementing enterprises that have the goal of renewing the community's respect for law and the organs that implement it, and primarily for arresting

and averting the trend toward an increase in infractions. We have also aimed our preventive activities and enforcement of the law toward this goal.

[Question] In the minds of the majority of the citizens, the basic job of the prosecutor's office is arresting criminals and trying them in the courts. Let us begin, then, with the functions of the prosecutor connected with his participation in investigation and arrest. Where is the boundary between the jurisdiction of the MO (Citizens' Militia) and the prosecutor's office? Do prosecutors correct the activity of the militia, and how often?

[Answer] The belief of which we speak is an obvious oversimplification of the problem. It is not possible in an interview to discuss specifically all of the tasks that the prosecutor's office carries out. I will, therefore, say that, in general, the principal task of the prosecutor's office, that is, protecting the rule of law, includes a series of specific tasks that are its concrete manifestation. These tasks may be divided into three groups. The first includes combating criminality as the most threatening form of infraction of the law. The second is combating (in the broadest sense, it means preventing as well) all other infractions of legal regulations that are in force. Finally, the third group includes a complex of actions undertaken to prevent infractions, or the most broadly understood, preventive activity.

The prosecutor's enforcement of the law is that course of action in which the essence of the socialist prosecutor's office as a constitutional guardian of the rule of law is most fully expressed. It includes supervising of legality of action of basically the whole state administration (with the exception of the chief organs), the national councils, state enterprises and other state and social organizational units.

With respect to the second half of the question, first of all I would like to explain that we cannot speak of the boundary between the jurisdiction of the MO and that of the prosecutor's office. Both of these organs are organs of pursuit that carry out the same tasks. If we can speak of the difference in jurisdiction, it is only in the area of supervision of the preliminary procedure and in the area of removing certain procedural activities from the jurisdiction of the MO organs. In keeping with the regulations on penal code procedures, the prosecutor supervises every preliminary procedure, and, therefore, also the procedures carried out by the MO so that nodal activities of the procedure must always be carried out by the prosecutor, and the most important decisions must be confirmed by him. We must remember, however, that the supervisory role of the prosecutor's office, emanating from the constitution, obviously does not imply an official subordination of these organs to the prosecutor's office during the investigation of crimes relating to MO organs. They have, of course, their own tasks and their own centers for reaching decisions.

[Question] Applying preventive measures (particularly the most strict, that is, temporary arrest) directly enters into the sphere of citizens' rights and freedom. Here quite frequently we meet with the view that this should be the domain of activity of independent courts. What is your view on this subject?



[Answer] If there were arguments indicating that the present practice increases the number of unjustified or purposeless preventive measures, then I would be a decided partisan of committing them to the exclusive jurisdiction of the court. But there is a lack of such arguments. So we are not concerned here exclusively with the fact that the resolution up to this time is formally in agreement with the regulations of the International Pact of Citizens' Rights and Political Rights of 1966 or with the fact that a similar resolution has been adopted in most socialist countries, but with the fact that there are arguments for this resolution primarily of a practical nature, particularly with respect to the speed of action, which would, of necessity, have to be slowed down if only because in the course of the action; it would be necessary for the prosecutor to prepare an appropriate motion and, finally, it would be necessary for the court to study the documentation of the acts in the case from the beginning, as it must do independently of the prosecutor. I believe, then, that the present resolution, which in all cases guarantees the possibility of control by an independent court in both the area of legality and appropriateness of temporary arrest is an adequate guarantee of the propriety of such arrest and a guarantee that arrests not dictated by obvious need will be eliminated.

[Question] Often preliminary action discloses the existence of circumstances that foster the committing of infractions or inhibiting their detection. This creates a situation in which it is possible and desirable to take preventive action. How often do prosecutors undertake such action, on what does this depend? Can we speak of the effects of such activities?

[Answer] In addition to pursuing criminals, prosecutors undertake and develop preventive actions as the "cheapest" means of implementing respect for law and order and public harmony. Preventive measures on the part of the prosecutor's office are an effective means of consolidating socialist rule of law, protecting community property, combating waste and inefficiency, manifestations of social pathology and other negative phenomena that inhibit the socioeconomic development of the country.

The dimensions and scope of preventive activities depend on the state of law and order, the kind and time of infractions of the law and determinations made by prosecutors in penal procedures, in the course of prosecutor enforcement of the law, in civil actions and in matters of labor relations. For example, in 1983 prosecutors undertook a total of more than 181,000 various preventive actions. Criminal proceedings were the main source of inspiration for preventive activity.

The basic methods and methods of preventive activity are: presentations at work places, institutions and various organs, signals, information, warning-disciplinary conferences, local meetings. Preventive actions of the prosecutor's office are implemented in very close cooperation with the national councils, regional organs of the state and economic administrations and central agencies, and other state organs and social organizations, especially trade unions and centers of PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth).

The principle of enforcing the obligation to inform the prosecutor's office

of the disposition of referred infractions is supported. Most of all, the prosecutor's office is interested in eliminating improprieties noted in cases of intervention. For this purpose, the prosecutors carry out confirming investigations in their own jurisdiction or with the cooperation of other organs. The determinations of such investigations indicate that the conclusions in prosecutor and militia cases were supported in more than 90 percent of the cases. This indicates the significant effectiveness of preventive activity.

[Question] Extending the tasks of the prosecutor's office beyond the problems of combating legal infractions and entrusting it with the function of protecting the rule of law in all areas of life is characteristic for people's democracies. Could you say a few words on the subject of this aspect of the activity of the prosecutor's office?

[Answer] As I have already said, in a short interview it is impossible to give a definitive presentation of all the activities of the prosecutor's office. I will limit my remarks, therefore, to listing certain of these. And so prosecutors do the following:

--they investigate the legality of administrative decisions, acts of a general character issued by regional organs of authority and state administrations and decisions of penal boards. Appropriate legal measures are taken in cases of decisions, acts of a general nature and decisions of penal boards incompatible with the law. The prosecutor's office also takes measures aimed at ensuring correct and uniform procedures in matters of infractions, in administrative procedures and in other kinds of procedures;

--they participate in court procedures before the Supreme Administrative Court in matters of deciding whether administrative decisions agree with the law;

--they institute complaints in civil matters and in labor relations and participate in these procedures if protection of the rule of law, citizens' rights, community interest or community property requires this.

To be more specific, I can point out that, in the first quarter of this year alone, prosecutors investigated approximately 8,600 cases and, as a result of this, complaints were filed with respect to 80 administrative decisions and decisions of the penal boards in matters of infractions; 470 motions were made on initiating administrative or executive procedures, on issuing acts of a general character and on arresting workers guilty of confirmed deficiencies in carrying out service, disciplinary or materials responsibilities; 859 cases that were investigated were referred to appropriate organs with statements that the offenses could not be confirmed and with motions for their dismissal.

During the same period, the prosecutors participated in action before the Supreme Administrative Court in 263 cases admitted by this court as a result of actions requiring final administrative decision.

In civil cases and labor cases, in the first quarter of the current year, prosecutors requested the courts to initiate proceedings in 382 cases, brought action or filed for initiating nonprocedural action in 351 cases, initiated 126 actions with respect to work places, organs and organizations; as a result of these actions, the courts assessed fines totalling 6,700,000 zlotys.

In the office of the prosecutor general, 688 petitions for filing demurrers or for extraordinary audits were investigated; this resulted in 50 extraordinary audits and granting of 15 demurrers.

[Question] Are regulations pertaining to prosecutor control over legality of acts of a general character a dead law or not?

[Answer] Obviously they are not a dead law. As I have already said, prosecutors also investigate legality of legal acts of a general character to the extent that they are made known. The scope of this control is, however, relatively small considering the recognized difficult situation with respect to personnel in the prosecutor's office and the need for extending prosecutor activities particularly in the area of criminal offenses.

Nevertheless, in the first quarter of 1984, prosecutors investigated the legality of 358 acts of a general character. The results of these investigations was recourse to legal procedures in 17 cases.

As far as activity of the prosecutor general during this period is concerned, we are appealing to the appropriate ministers for changes in acts of a general character that they have issued. For example, applications in the past year to the minister of communication and the minister of health and social welfare brought about changes in regulations that they issued. We intend to extend this activity gradually.

[Question] Can you say what percentage of the prosecutor's staff is engaged in criminal matters, and what percentage in enforcing the law and in civil matters? Is not this second, important function peripheral in the activity of the prosecutor's office? Is it not undermined to a large degree by the formation of the Supreme Administrative Court?

[Answer] In a situation where there is an increase in the tasks of the prosecutor's office caused by an increase in criminal offenses, with the existing shortage of personnel (more than 15 percent of posts are not filled), it is impossible to say precisely what percentage of the prosecutors are engaged in the battle against criminality and what percentage in enforcing the law and civil matters. Prosecutors, even those assigned exclusively to enforcing the law with respect to civil matters, must be involved in those problems that are the most important problems in the sphere of their activity; in many cases they are involved simultaneously in both penal matters and enforcing the law in civil matters.

With progressive stabilization (and enlarging the staff of the prosecutor's office), this situation will change, but for the time being, although I do

not regard it as proper, it cannot be otherwise.

Even now, however, the activity of prosecutors in the sphere of law enforcement and in civil matters is not the "periphery" of prosecutor activity; it is just as important as the activity of combating crime and preventing it.

Activities of the prosecutor's office in the area of law enforcement are not undermined by the formation of the Supreme Administrative Court. Quite the opposite: the formation of this court strengthens the position of the prosecutor who is enforcing the law by giving him the authority to question a flawed administrative decision by filing an appropriate petition in this court, which is an organ independent of the organ that handed down the decision, a supervisory organ of a higher degree. This recourse is undoubtedly more far-reaching and more effective than the legal means that formerly served the prosecutor's office.

[Question] What are the most important tasks confronting the organs of the PRL prosecutor's office in implementing the resolution on amnesty?

[Answer] As is known, in a preliminary procedure, amnesty is granted by the prosecutor. This places specific obligations on the prosecutor's office. To ensure a proper and undelayed implementation of the amnesty resolutions, a unit of several persons was formed in the prosecutor general's office, consisting of the most experienced prosecutors under the leadership of the deputy prosecutor general. The task of this unit is specifically to ensure uniform application of the regulations of the resolution. This unit consults with representatives of the Ministry of Justice, the Supreme Court, and, as it becomes necessary, with representatives of other interested departments or institutions on the content of responses made by the prosecutor.

As early as 23 July there was a conference in the office of the prosecutor general of all provincial prosecutors, military district prosecutors and military branches at which the principles of granting amnesty were discussed in detail and appropriate guidelines were set.

Much attention was given to making the amnesty resolution widely known and explaining its specific provisions to the community. An example of this are the appearances of prosecutors on television, radio and in the press, participation in telephone consultations organized by editors, instituting special posts in prosecutor offices, the so-called confidential telephones and other forms of activity whose general purpose is to satisfy the wide interest of the community in the problems of amnesty.

Implementing the resolution, the prosecutors set aside first of all the temporary arrests of persons involved in procedures that now qualify for dismissal. As an example, I would like to say that up to 25 July, prosecutors waived arrest with respect to 1074 persons, including 189 who had been charged with committing offenses from political motives.

During the period in which courts grant amnesty, the prosecutors, through legal means available to them, guard the legal enforcement of the resolution and the principles of the penal policy in force; to do this, they participate in meetings of the court.

## ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY RETIREE ASSOCIATION DESCRIBED

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 4, Apr 84 pp 46-48

[Article by Col Julian Bilski: "Although Now Out of Uniform, Constantly Active"]

[Text] The Union of Former Professional Soldiers [ZBZZ] was founded in 1981, as an association of superior services, as a result of specific public need. Former professional soldiers, in view of the complex sociopolitical status of the country, in the face of intensive attacks on the party and national authority from external and internal hostile forces, resolved to close ranks in order to defend socialism and act on behalf of strengthening the defense of the homeland to the best of their strength and ability.

The ZBZZ membership presently consists of approximately 29,000 former professional soldiers, of whom 15 percent are combatants, who directly made a lasting contribution in the struggle for an independent Poland, in the consolidation of national authority within it, and in leading it out of the ruins of war. They also belong to the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWiD] as well as the Union of Disabled Veterans, and display social activity everywhere.

A somewhat younger generation of former professional soldiers constitutes a majority of the ZBZZ membership, including those from the Reserve Officers Clubs and the National Defense League.

About 70 percent of ZBZZ members belong to the PZPR. A considerable number of them are found in leading party positions, including positions of secretary. For example, in the province of Gdansk, 37 union members perform the duties of secretary and 41 serve on executive boards of PZPR committees at various levels. The same pertains to the province of Katowice. Many of them proved themselves in sociopolitical actions as lecturers and lectors, including those of PZPR provincial committees.

ZBZZ members hold responsible positions in Provincial Defense Committees as directors and workers in their secretariats, as well as in defense units of enterprises, employment plants and institutions. They likewise function actively in people's councils as well as in various units of the Patriotic

Movement for National Rebirth, in which more than 9000 members of the union are socially engaged. Union members fill an especially useful role in socioeducational and interventionist commissions.

The Union of Former Professional Soldiers achieved legal identify on 1 April 1981 by a decree issued by the PRL Council of Ministers. Its First Congress, which took place on 13 and 14 April 1981 in Warsaw, gave the union its final form. The ZBZZ statute was ratified there, central governing bodies were elected, a program of action was adopted as well as other fundamental documents. Dr Roman Les, Col Ret, was elected chairman of the ZBZZ Main Board.

Apart from the Main Board [ZG], the organizational structure of the union is composed of: 49 provincial boards and 586 regional circles. Their presiding officers function within the ZG and provincial boards, as do the audit commissions and the courts of arbitration chosen by election and, moreover, the commissions designated as organizational, propaganda, socio-living and others. Offices employing full-time employees also function within the ZG and the provincial boards of the ZBZZ. These units are not numerous, and in the majority of provinces are composed of part-time employees. In compliance with the union statute, the term of office of the central and provincial authorities lasts 4 years, and that of the basic authorities 2 years.

The agenda of activities of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers has a threefold aim: consolidation of the community of former professional soldiers within the framework of the union, internal strengthening of the compactness and cohesion of its ranks; patriotic-defense training of the public, including the young generation especially; solidification and intensification of cooperation with the army, and especially between ZBZZ circles and individuals and institutions.

In its intraunion activities, the ZBZZ concentrates its efforts, inter alia, on:

--the integration of its members around the ideological assumptions of the statute, development of their moral values, concern for the honor and dignity of the common soldier of the Polish Army, as well as strengthening the prestige of former professional soldiers both in the army and society. This takes place principally through the systematic holding of union circle meetings, representing a basic form of solidifying ties and contacts as well as educational influence; the organization of meetings on the occasion of national and military holidays, historical events and local celebrations; development of social and personal contacts, and the supplying of mutual aid, particularly under such circumstances as illness, unfortunate accidents, deaths and others;

--the intensification and consolidation of ideological-political and patriotic-defense values among ZBZZ members, inter alia by expanding their knowledge of current problems of the life of the party, the country, and also from the military sphere, social sciences, the international situation and others;

--the organization of cultural-recreational and social activities, in such forms as group trips to places commemorating important historical events, excursions, expositions, occasional shows, etc.; creation of group interest--philatelic, photographic, angling, hunting, plot gardening and others; establishment of cooperation with circles of individual and military institution interests, as well as circles of the organization of military families;

--development of activities in the sphere of guaranteeing adequate socioliving conditions for union members, inter alia through systematic study and provisions for socioliving and health needs of union members as well as the community of former professional soldiers. Worthy of note is the fact that the union fills an important social function in the community of former professional soldiers, organizing care, assistance and friendly mutual aid for the sick and infirm, as well as widows and families of deceased ZBZZ members. Its members are assured of free legal aid, assistance in finding employment and desires to change living quarters, allowances and other matters.

The Union of Former Professional Soldiers through its programmatical activities directed externally, particularly concerning participation in the forming of the public's patriotic-defense awareness, establishes its higher social usefulness, gains authority and recognition in society and the military. Of help in this is the fact that it possesses dedicated, socially and politically oriented members as well as the fact that the union can depend on support in its endeavors from the party, officials of the national administration, also individuals and institutions of the Ministry of National Defense.

Deserving of emphasis here is the fact that the ZBZZ provides aid in the defense training and instruction of school children, and those out of school, as well as on the premises of places of employment and Volunteer Labor Brigades through sociodefense organizations (National Defense League, Officers Reserve Clubs, the Society of Defense Knowledge, PRL Aeroclub, the Union of Polish Scouting, etc.). This aid finds expression in the adoption by union circles and individual members of patronage over schools, especially those bearing the names of heroes of the Polish People's Army [LWP], and also in the organization of meetings with the work force of places of employment and the youth at camps and summer hostels. For example, during the jubilee year commemorating the LWP's 40th anniversary, ZBZZ activists conducted over 200 meetings in places of employment and close to 2000 in schools throughout the entire land.

This activity garners public sympathy and gratitude for the union. An expression of this among other things is the banners delivered to provincial boards and circles which were donated out of contributions by the youth and work forces of places of employment. For example, on the occasion of the LWP's 40th year of existence such banners were received by provincial boards of the union in Katowice, Bialystok and Plock as well as ZBZZ circles functioning at the Training Center for Specialists of the Navy in Ustka and a unit of the Army Border Defense in Cieszyn. All ceremonies marking



the tendering of banners to individual provincial boards and ZBZZ circles were conducted in public places with the participation of local representatives of party and administrative government, color guards of political and social organizations, military unit commands, youth delegations and the public.

The goal of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers' activities in the area of cooperation with the army is the solidification and intensification of ties of its members with the military community as well as supplying it with political, social and moral support and help in the implementation through them of ideological-educational and defense assignments.

The legal basis for action in this sphere is Ministry of National Defense [MON] Order No 20 of 16 April 1981 regarding cooperation of the army with the Union of Former Professional Soldiers. This document is consistently implemented in general by units and military institutions as well as elements of the ZBZZ. Confirmation of this is provided, inter alia, by the following examples:

The ZBZZ Supreme Board periodically advises MON management regarding the current organizational status of the union, its basic problems and intentions, the attitudes of the community of former professional soldiers as well as the difficulties, observations and suggestions concerning implementation of the MON order referred to above.

The Main Board of the ZBZZ systematically cooperates with the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, especially in areas outlining principal directions of patriotic defense influence on society, maintenance of ties of former professional soldiers with mother units and military institutions as well as the development of propaganda activity for the benefit of the union and the popularization of the ZBZZ in the army, as well as in civilian communities by means of the mass media.

The Main Board of the ZBZZ systematically cooperates with the central institutions of MON (for example, the Head Quartermaster of the Polish Army, the Cadre Department, the Finance Department and others) in resolving current issues of importance to the community of former professional soldiers, pertaining mainly to pension rights, employment, as well as guaranteed care for unskilled and sick individuals. Among other things, as a result of this cooperation, the Home for Army Retirees in Warsaw was founded and committed to use in 1983. Efforts are underway to organize a Geriatric Hospital for former professional soldiers.

The commands of military districts, of branches of the armed forces, as well as many military units systematically organize meetings with former professional soldiers, which includes members of the ZBZZ. One becomes acquainted with the present problems of army life with contemporary military equipment as well as training facilities. Meetings of this type have often been organized, especially during celebrations commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. On this occasion the most active ZBZZ members were awarded decorations, national and military honors, certificates of appreciation and also promotions.

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In the area of cooperation from Provincial Military Headquarters [WSzW] and provincial boards of the union, deserving of attention are their efforts aimed at, among other things, the organization of new ZBZZ circles, which are formed mainly where, according to WSzW data, the largest concentration of former professional soldiers is located. Great importance is attached to recognizing needs of the community of military retirees and pensioners, widows and orphans of deceased union members, to the area of services and employment, and to improving material and health conditions.

Other, no less important areas of union activity comprise the utilization of local possibilities for employment and material aid for the most needy members of the union; the selection and the passing of judgment on proposals that are progressive and meaningful to ZBZZ members; the granting of allowances, emoluments and the distribution of vacation passes; investigating complaints, grievances and proposals filed with military departments by former professional soldiers.

The period of almost 3 years of existence of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers demonstrates that its cooperation with the army is bilaterally beneficial and necessary. This contributes to the intensification of the ties of union members with mother units and military institutions, as well as to active inclusion in the process of implementing assignments related to the patriotic training of soldiers. As a result of this, there followed a basic evaluation of the relationship of the LWP professional cadre to the ZBZZ. In the initial period of the union's existence, professional soldiers on the whole treated its role and assignments with reserve, often mistaking it for a professional union. This was the result of generally weak familiarity concerning its affairs. Today they are, as a general rule, fully aware of the useful presence of the union in the community of the former army's professional cadre; they show it sympathy and respect, they provide it with support and assistance. An example of this is, inter alia, the posture of the professional cadre of units and military institutions of the Gdansk garrison, which participates financially toward donating a banner to the local provincial board of the ZBZZ.

Undoubtedly, conditions and possibilities exist for further improvement in style and expansion of areas of the army's cooperation with the Union of Former Professional Soldiers. We are mainly concerned here with intensifying direct contacts of commands and the party-political apparatus of military units (institutions) with circles and ZBZZ provincial boards, among other things, through frequent participation in their meetings and events, aid in the handling of affairs of concern to union members. The potential of union members is still not fully utilized in the patriotic training of soldiers in basic military service, especially new army inductees. In this context they could more frequently, for example, join in conducting political and cultural-educational work, in cooperation with circles of the Polish Socialist Youth Union in military units. On the other hand, it would be possible to make available to ZBZZ members on a larger scale the cultural, sporting and recreational facilities of military units and Military Trade Center outposts as well.

Contacts with military units and institutions are necessary to many elements of the union as a true source of inspiration for their creative and systematic activities as well as for the elevation of its essential values. They will serve better use in the educational activities of military units of the army's former professional cadre, being a part of the soldier's community, which has always bound its destiny to that of the socialist homeland, and also the elevation of the rank and authority of the union in the army and society.

9951

CSO: 2600/1113

## HISTORY, MISSION OF BORDER GUARD DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jun 84 p 3

[Interview with Brigadier General Feliks Stramik, Border Guard Commander, by Jerzy Weber: "We Have To Watch Our Borders More Closely"]

[Text] [Question] A permanent bond between the security and sovereignty of the state and the efficient protection of its borders has produced an awareness in our people which is based on many historical considerations. Polish border markers, especially those with the state's emblem, set up along the border evoke respect and often strong emotion in a decisive majority of Poles. What kind of an impact does all this have on the service of the Border Guards?

[Answer] I do not think that I am exaggerating if I say that these feelings are mostly responsible for the efficiency of our service. We have been aware of these feelings for the entire 39-year history of our organization. It is a fact that even during the country's recent social and political tensions, we members of the Border Guards did not sense that this special "Polish" attitude toward the protection of our country's borders underwent any basic changes. Of course, I am not including the statements and activities of our political opponents, who by openly moving against our socialist state were definitely interested in weakening our country's borders for many reasons.

Despite individual instances, the traditional climate of public respect and goodwill toward the soldiers and subunits of the Border Guards has not changed, nor have our contacts with the inhabitants of the border areas been reduced. We continue to feel the public's support and readiness to help.

Our soldiers and subunits always keep in mind the principle that there can be no efficient protection of our borders without the public's support and readiness to help. This principle was formulated in the early days of the Border Guards and, especially, when the frontal units of the Polish First and Second Armies posted the boundaries of the Polish state as they returned from their completed wartime operations.

[Question] Polish Army units began guarding our borders on 10 June 1945. We now celebrate that date as Border Guards Day, even though the Border

Guards themselves were not organized until 13 September 1945 by order of Polish Army Commander, Marshal Rola Zynierski. Why is this so?

[Answer] We commemorate not the day of our organization, but the political fact of Polish soldiers undertaking organized and permanent control of the borders of a reborn People's Poland. When in February 1945 soldiers of the 6th Independent Motorized Bridge and Pontoon Battalion set up near Czelin the first border marker with a picture of our White Eagle and the inscription "Polish State Border," it was an act symbolizing the beginning of border control for People's Poland. But the war was still going on. Our service is obligated to protect our borders during peacetime. On 10 June 1945, Polish soldiers began doing just that.

[Question] The need to establish a Border Guards service arose from specific requirements responsible for ensuring the protection of the state's borders and the security of the state itself. In the first years after liberation, it was necessary to protect these borders with rifles and bayonets. The long list of names of those border guards who perished in battles with political and underground bands, the remnants of Hitler's forces, as well as with armed smugglers and foreign agents, is a painful reminder. The history of the Border Guards also proves that the situation within the country plays a role in the stability of the border. Could this explain why the Border Guards are a part of the state security system?

[Answer] Of course. As a military organization, the Border Guards are a part of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic and are linked to the glorious traditions of the units of the Polish First and Second Armies. Operating in a critical area of state security, the Border Guards are an integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The tasks of the Border Guards in ensuring security and public order have expanded in recent years. Together with the Citizens' Militia and Security Service, the soldiers of the Border Guards oppose any violation of the law or destruction of public property in the border areas; they counter espionage and any attempts at sabotage. As we operate in these areas, we proceed from the supposition, which seems to be justified, that it is impossible to ensure respect for and compliance with the law regarding borders unless we comply with the law throughout the country.

Specifically, the tasks of the Border Guards include primarily: the control of personal and transport movement through the border crossings, protection of our sea border, supervision of shipping and the utilization of our border sea, internal and territorial waters, and the protection of our border markers and facilities.

In accomplishing these tasks, we work closely together with border protection agencies belonging to our neighbors. Our cooperation with the border agencies of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic has a rich tradition, which is reflected in the friendly manner of every border guard and Border Guards crossing point.

[Question] Can anyone cross our state border unnoticed and therefore illegally?

[Answer] Such incidents occur infrequently. Even in those rare instances when someone succeeds in crossing the border illegally and avoiding detention, the fact itself is soon discovered and recorded.

In those border areas where it is necessary, we have at our disposal the appropriate technology, including radar, signal equipment and TV monitors.

I have already said a few things about the most essential requirement of border protection, which include: public support, close cooperation with our comrades in the Security Service and Citizens' Militia, and fraternal cooperation with the border services of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.

[Question] After all, doesn't the traditional emblem of the Border Guards--a man on a horse with a dog along side--belong to history?

[Answer] The most important aspect of this emblem has always been the man. And so it has remained, even though he has the aid of many modern scientific and technical inventions. Vehicles replaced horses a long time ago; dogs, however, are still very useful even today.

[Question] What kind of a person becomes a soldier or officer in today's Border Guards?

[Answer] Various selected soldiers join the Border Guards, just as with every other organization. The officers are recruited from military officer schools. Once in the Border Guards, the soldiers and officers receive specific training. We train our specialists in our own Border Guard training facilities.

We pay particular attention in preparing appropriately the personnel serving in Border Check Points which maintain the border crossing points. We are talking here about the observation of courtesy and efficiency in processing border crossing movement, as well as the prevention of passport and customs-currency transgressions. We cooperate closely with customs officials with regard to this.

A soldier of the Border Guards should stand out because of his ideals, great sense of patriotism and internationalism, as well as his realization that he is protecting the borders of his socialist fatherland. He must also possess the necessary expertise and be physically fit.

The entire system of our party-political, ideological and young adult training efforts which are made among our troops serve in shaping these traits.

[Question] As you have already stated, the efficiency of Border Guard operations is based on the public's support. This support is a result of history. How do you maintain and develop this support?

[Answer] As I have stated, the principle of cooperating with the public guides the border guards and is responsible for the very specific tasks of our soldiers and subunits. But trust and public support cannot last forever by themselves. They have to be earned conscientiously and honestly. Every border guard subunit has an extensive program to accomplish this.

We maintain permanent ties with 179 plants and mills and 92 state farms in the border areas. Our soldiers and officers are frequent guests in more than 380 schools; of these, 61 schools are sponsored by the Border Guards, while 29 bear names associated with the history and heroes of the Border Guards. More than 300 scout troops are implementing a special program of a Scout Border Service with participation by military circles and Polish Scout Union instructors. We are patrons for 22 children's homes. In 1983, soldiers of the Border Guards donated 3,500 liters of blood to local medical centers. We help in agricultural efforts and support other initiatives, especially those linked to young people's and professional organizations, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

Our engineers continue to remove remnants of the Second World War from our border areas and tourist routes even though 39 years have already passed since the end of the war. Every year, they dismantle 3,500 bombs, grenades and artillery shells, as well as thousands of other types of munitions. We help in land reclamation and hurry to aid in natural disasters.

It is difficult to measure precisely the degree of public trust and support for the soldiers wearing green shoulderboards. Further proof is provided by the following data: 131 border guards are members of local party echelons, 257 border guards were candidates to people's councils and many were elected to duties in social and regional organizations, including finally elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

[Question] This year's Border Guards Day falls during the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. What do members of the Border Guards think as they finish guarding the borders of a sovereign Poland for a 39th year in a Europe free of war?

[Answer] The inviolability of the borders of the Polish People's Republic is one of the most important elements responsible for peace in Europe. This awareness encourages and obligates every border guard to serve conscientiously and honestly. From the perspective of 40 years one can see distinctly how the security of Poland and her borders has grown because of the tightening of friendship and international bonds with our neighboring peoples and states. This has been realized because of Poland's participation in the socialist community. We have to watch the borders here more closely than anywhere else. From the perspective of 40 years, we see the need to strengthen patriotism and internationalism in our ranks and especially with the centers with which we maintain daily contacts.

One more thought about the people whom I have had the honor to represent here with this interview--the soldiers of the Border Guards. During these



39 years, there has never been a shortage of people who were able to ensure the inviolability of Poland's borders, despite various and different circumstances. It is the same now as it was when the times required the greatest sacrifices. We have in our ranks many excellent, well-trained and dedicated people. I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to thank them for the exemplary service which they perform far from major population centers for social progress. They are our best guarantee that the public's trust of and respect for the Border Guards, acquired over the past 40 years of the Polish People's Republic, will continue to grow even in the future.

12247

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PRIMATE CLARIFIES STATEMENT ON CHURCH, STATE RELATIONS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 1, 24 Jun 84 pp 1, 2

[Interview with His Eminence Jozef Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland, by Father Waldemar Wojdecki and Jan Dworak: "We Are Aware of the Risks"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The third anniversary of the elevation of Your Eminence to primate is coming soon. This has been a very difficult time filled with changing circumstances and dramatic events.

[Answer] I view these 3 years in the broader context of the continuity of events which preceeded them. I look back to the time of Cardinal Hlond, to the service Cardinal Wyszynski rendered to the church. It is against this background that I try to comprehend my calling. I follow the signs of the time and penetrate the trend of the development of history, especially that of the church sharing the life of its people. In my estimation, this task is of paramount importance, and I try to accomplish it with all the humility due to the Lord. In "the succession of primates," the crosier has been passed on at important historical junctures. I would term the time of Cardinal Hlond "the period of thesis." The "concordat" church could at the time carry out very positive activities, among other church organizations. With the arrival of Cardinal Wyszynski, the second period began--that of "antithesis," of negating past developments, the period of unfavorable conditions, even with a tendency towards the destruction of the church. The symptoms of new times appeared toward the end of Cardinal Wyszynski's lifetime. In July 1981, I got on the speeding train of history carrying the new [message] originating in the times of August 1980. Our activity, which still may require many years, must be the implementation of what is the good fruit of the explosion of August 1980. I think that this is exactly the program for the new times, the program of the new times, the program of the third period, of synthesis.

Up to now this time has been very tempestous. The emotions which accompanied the early days of my ministration and subsequently the dramatic December 1981 and its consequences have contributed to this...Despite the contradictions coming out increasingly sharper, as time goes by we must of necessity look for the road to the future. Honest people who consider the future responsibly today also see no option other than dialogue. This may be the most important.

[Question] Indeed, Your Eminence must have devoted especially much time to social issues.

[Answer] With some wonderment, I praise Our Lord for having given me that much strength. I have been able not only to discharge the public responsibilities associated with the function of the primate, but also not to detract in any way from the regular pastoral ministrations. The latter are a source of genuine knowledge of the church.

[Question] Your situation is likened to that of Archbishop Felinski and Cardinal Wyszynski. Is there merit in such comparisons?

[Answer] This would call for a detailed historical analysis. Whenever an analogy is drawn, there are similarities and there are gaps. The situation of Archbishop Felinski in 1862 and 1863 had certain similarities, especially here, in Warsaw. I referred to this in one of my sermons. However, at that time the instruments of the church were not as varied as they are today. After all, Archbishop Felinski did not have the social teachings of the church, the Vatican Council or the power of today's clergy. Also, that situation came to a different end.

As far as Primate Wyszynski is concerned, certain similarities can be found. In the early stages of his work, the primate undertook an extremely intensive dialogue with the state, he wanted to come to the rescue...We know that this ended in his imprisonment. However, the imprisonment of the primate belonged exactly to the rules of the period of antithesis. I think that at present this is somewhat different...

[Question] Today, the reality of the church in Poland is associated with the growth of religion among people in their thirties and those younger still.

[Answer] We see this phenomenon not only in Poland, but in many other countries as well, perhaps with the exception of the world of high consumption. It is caused by the presence of the Holy Spirit in the church which reveals Christian values to the younger generation.

[Question] From the technological standpoint, this would be an adequate explanation. However, this phenomenon can also be considered in its social aspect. Are the young people expending their energy where it is possible in view of the the other fields of activity being restricted?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, this can be analyzed by applying the methods of sociology or the science of religion. Nonetheless, I would not ascribe it totally to social conditions. It seems to me that this is not only the result of being spiteful or lacking something. The crisis brings out the values which a person follows, which the younger generation follows.

[Question] To what extent are the traditional structures of the institutional church capable of absorbing the disturbed energy?

[Answer] The church is a living organism; its structures are flexible. The entire tremendous respect for traditions notwithstanding, far-reaching

novelties are not ruled out. The conflict of generations which is manifested within the church as well is a normal phenomenon. "Resistance" against the activities of the young does happen in the parishes. However, this resistance plays only the role of a brake. Its positive function should be appreciated: it is the first form of testing zeal and endurance. It is the task of the church administration to see to it that as few conflicts as possible result from the dynamism of the younger generation.

This issue has yet another dimension. We are becoming aware that the catechization which we carry out at all levels, beginning with preschoolers and up to parents, including school grades and premarital classes, is not enough today. The knowledge of life must follow the reception of religious instruction. Christian living is only possible in a community, and not a large community at that. In a crowd, a person can be converted, can live through experiences, can reinforce his faith. However, one can only learn to live in smaller groups. This is why the future belongs to the groups which, inspired by the same faith, are able to teach themselves proper Christian living. This is perhaps the most important: the creation of communities smaller than the parish in various milieus. Our pastoral effort should go in this direction.

[Question] In recent years, such groups have increasingly made their presence in church life known. However, with them comes the danger of becoming self-contained and isolated.

[Answer] Indeed, there is a danger which I would generally call the sectarian tendency. If a group becomes closed, if it has secrets, this runs counter to the essence of the church, which always is an open community where a newcomer is welcome. It should be kept in mind that communities should remain open and their roots should be in the parish.

[Question] For 3 years Your Eminence has also been the bishop of Warsaw. Has this been a particular experience?

[Answer] As far as pastoral work goes, Warsaw is different from the rest of the country. We see this phenomenon in all European capitals: on the one hand, there is a more powerful aspiration to secularism and worldiness; on the other hand, there are numerous communities of lay believers who understand the church well. The intellectual potential of these communities is stronger than elsewhere: their initiatives in service to the church are the most numerous in all of Poland.

Church life in Warsaw is vigorous and extensive. However, there is to great diocesan holiday, such as they have in Krakow or Gniezno, which picks everyone up and enlivens religious life. Maybe the September celebrations to honor Wladyslaw of Gielniow, a saint so intimately associated with Warsaw, will be an appropriate occasion.

[Question] Warsaw is the largest cluster of artistic communities in Poland.

[Answer] The people of culture, the creative individuals are discovering in the church something that I once called a great spiritual refuge, referring not to quietism but rather to internal harmony. The church must and will reach out to the artistic community in order not to have us miss each other on our way. However, we do not want to set up a greenhouse for them. They must partake of life in order to be able to transform it into art through the exercise of their creative gifts.

[Question] The phrase "one must listen to God more than to people" has recently come up several times in Your Eminence's instruction.

[Answer] The church resorts to this assertion of the gospel in many situations. For example, this applies to abortions or contradictions between political dictums and ethical norms. There are situations when a person faces a choice: the law permits him or altogether orders him, whereas his conscience resists. At this point, one should listen to God and not give in to what is the notion of the world.

[Question] Recently, Your Eminence also said that "the church is not of this world, but it is in the world." In view of this, what is the relationship among the notions of "interests of the church," "interests of the state" and "the national interest?"

[Answer] Primate Wyszynski said that the church from time to time substitutes in various social roles, which is not to say that it takes over for good. After all, the church does not have interests in the sense that the nation and the state do. The interests of the state call for efficient government, secure frontiers and welfare for its citizens. The nation must be united and preserve its language and culture. At the same time, the task of the church is to lead a person to deliverance. To this end, the church enters the society regardless of its cultural and state forms. If it has any "interest" in the social sphere, it is only in order to create a foundation for spiritual activities.

[Question] For some time now, voices have been heard stating that the interests of the church in Poland run counter to those of the nation.

[Answer] It has been said that the church would like to assume too much in the time of crisis. This is not true. One must only imagine what the situation in Poland would be like today if suddenly the church were no longer in existence--how much more social frustration and many more breakdowns there would be.

The church is the cement of society. This is especially apparent during the construction of new churches. The vivacity and mobilization of people constitute a negation of apathy and stagnation which are felt elsewhere. While a church is being built the life of new settlements changes: a feeling of community arises.

[Question] One can say that this has always been the case in Poland. In the year 2000, when the entire Christian world will celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Jesus Christ, we will simultaneously observe another anniversary:

1,000 years since the Congress of Gniezno, which became one of the foundations for building both the church and the state.

[Answer] This event is linked with the name of Saint Wojciech. The year 2000 will be preceded by the 1,000th anniversary of his death in 1997. We will undertake efforts in order to make Saint Wojciech a patron of Europe, along with Cyril and Methodius and Saint Benedict. His apostolic mission had a wide European scope.

[Question] Your view of the year 2000 as the anniversary which unites Europe was expressed by Your Eminence in one of your first pronouncements 3 years ago.

[Answer] First of all, the Holy Father brought this anniversary to the attention of the church in the encyclical "Redemptor hominis." The period before us is a great advent, it is waiting for the mystery of the savior Jesus Christ measured in millenia.

In Poland, the church has a tradition of long-term pastoral planning, hence our idea which we shared with the bishops of other countries. To be sure, no single program for all of Europe can be prepared, because conditions are different. However, the main trend of preparations can be a common one.

[Question] Within a dozen years, many important anniversaries will be observed. Among others, the year 1988 will see the 1,000th anniversary of the christening of Russia.

[Answer] We do not know yet how the Orthodox Church will celebrate this historical continuity. The millenium of Russia is a great ecumenical occasion for the two churches to turn to each other. We are ready to serve this event through our prayers, help and understanding.

[Question] In a sermon in May in Skalka, Your Eminence distinguished three modes of the attitude of the state toward the church. In short, these can be called the tendencies toward liquidation, subordination and coexistence. In response to the rhetorical question about whether coexistence between the church and the state governed by a party espousing materialistic ideology is possible, it was stated that "for the Poles, there are no things which are impossible on the average." Current developments in the relations between the church and the state are of tremendous importance for the Poles. However, they are also watched from many places outside of Poland.

[Answer] We are aware of this, as well as of the risk which we cannot fail to take. We are also aware of the very great difficulties and contradictions. However, life is so powerful that it goes on despite the contradictions. Therefore, we will try to follow this road because, to tell you the truth, there is no other or better way out.

[Question] For the sake of simplification, we may say that the essence of this complex process is to show that the church is indeed an entity

from another dimension of reality and, therefore, it does not undermine any sociopolitical system. At this point, the apprehension arises that the church, under tremendous pressure of risk and the mistrust of the other side, may resign from discharging properly the functions of a moral authority that points out mistakes and condemns sin in public life as well. The apprehension is that the church would "obey people and not God."

[Answer] Oh, no! We reserve this for ourselves! We will not be lenient with either ourselves or the phenomena which occur elsewhere. We will always have respect for the person, but not leniency toward abnormalities. We will also preserve this historical role of the church in what is now new and coming.

[Question] In closing, we have a request pro domo sua. We are publishing the first issue of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI. What admonitions would Your Eminence have for our weekly?

[Answer] I see four determinants of the direction for the periodical to follow. The first is the program of the church contained in liturgy and magisterium. There should not be the smallest deviation from that. The vital activity of the church in Poland is the second determinant. The magazine should listen to the needs of the people, it must know what the people feel and what they seek, it must answer questions which the pulpit cannot or does not know how to answer. The hierarchial community of the church with the episcopate and the primate is the third determinant. This is also an instructing church. The editorial staff is the fourth determinant--or rather it will be, because only a common road can unite us.

I do not think that you will lack ambition. I wish you to set your sights high and work out a good program.

[Interviewer] Thank you, Your Eminence, for the admonitions and the interview.

9761  
CSO: 2600/1121



## WESTERN COVERAGE OF NOWAKOWSKI CASE RIDICULED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jul 84 pp 5, 8

[Article by (J): "A Canary and Carps Raised by a Writer"]

[Text] In the past few months Western mass media have been intensifying a campaign about alleged "hardening of policy towards intellectuals in Poland."

They decided to present the case of Marek Nowakowski, a Warsaw lawyer and writer, as proof that such repression is taking place in Poland. The initiation of an inquiry against him, investigative arrest, his release from detention, the filing of an indictment against him in the Warsaw District Military Court-- in short, every stage of criminal proceedings--were noisily described by the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Deutschlandfunk as "acts of lawlessness which are directed against the most fundamental human and civil rights," "a search for a scapegoat, in order to terrorize the entire literary community," "an attempt by the government of the Polish People's Republic to muzzle the writers."

These libels and insults broadcast from the West against the state authorities were accompanied by a peculiar elevation of Nowakowski's status as a writer. While before 8 March he was identified as an "author" or "writer," or at most an "opposition writer," since 9 March we have been hearing about an "outstanding writer," "popular writer," or "one of the top writers." Since 10 March his name has been fused with the title of "one of the best Polish writers." On 15 March Voice of America called him "one of the main figures of the Polish literary world." On 21 March, in another quoted broadcast, the BBC quoted L. Walesa's remark which placed Nowakowski right next to Mickiewicz and Slowacki. On 30 March Voice of America started to mention his name before Milosz. Only LE MONDE's description of Nowakowski as "one of the best known writers of young generation" did not stick. Alas, at the age of 49 one can still pass for a member of "young generation" in this country, but it is a more difficult feat in the West.

Radio France Internationale calls him "an author of numerous works critical of the Jaruzelski regime which appeared in the underground press." On 11 March Radio Free Europe recalled his cooperation with the Committee for the Defense of Workers [KOR]. Voice of America announced, in an official editorial comment broadcast on March 25, that "Marek Nowakowski consistently refused to submit to

official government censorship. When the authorities of the Polish People's Republic prohibited publication of his works by state publishers, he reached his readers through underground publications."

The truth in this dispatch has been mixed with lies. In reality, beginning with his debut in 1958 and continuing to this year, Nowakowski's books were published officially, new works as well as reprints. His radio programs were broadcast, films based on his stories were being shot. He received awards. But, apparently, this was not enough for him. He established contact with Jerzy Giedroyc, director of a Paris-based center called the "Literary Institute," which does not hide its anticommunism or its hostility toward our state. Following the proverb "Give the Lord his due, and the Devil his," Nowakowski published officially, in Poland and abroad, and unofficially, in KULTURA, a Paris monthly published by the "Literary Institute" and, beginning in 1977, also in the illegal press and underground publications. He had been warned that this could not go on forever, but he ignored these warnings.

On 26 March Voice of America, summarizing an article about M. Nowakowski published in the West German STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, recalled his "aggressive speeches and remarks, hostile to the regime, which were made at every opportunity."

As the "protest" campaign intensified, the tone and the contents of statements about Nowakowski's works began to change. The very same editorial offices which not so long ago praised his "Report on Martial Law," "Hot Notes," "Notes on Everyday Life," etc., as a "literature of fact," "testimony to the truth," and "a photograph of reality," are now outraged that criminal proceedings were initiated against an author of "literary fiction" which, by virtue of being fiction, is obviously untrue, and thus cannot be held against either the author or the publisher.

Nowakowski's defenders seem to have missed the point that between the literature of fact and literary fiction there is a gap that can still be filled with tententious lies, wrapped in the literary form of expression and disseminated with the aim of cheating the readers and demeaning Poland, its system, its authorities and its citizens. An Englishman, a Swede, a Frenchman, or an American who reads the "Report on Martial Law" is presented with a picture of Poland as a country of sly operators, slobs, sluggards, drunks and crooks oppressed by a government that is even worse. Following is a sample of our collective portrait: "Already a fetus in mother's womb has been poisoned. Her breasts swell with poison and poverty. A small slave is born. He sucks that milk. He grows up to be a big slave. He nourishes himself with beer and vodka. A man with an empty head. No thought will sprout from there. Only confusion. Confusion like a choking gas. This is the model of a human being."

Is it possible to agree that the author is not responsible for his work and its harmful consequences if the work is in the form of literary fiction?

Could these works have been printed in illegal "underground" publications, or in official Western publications which clearly intend to cause Poland political harm, such as the "Literary Institute" in Paris, "Puls" and others--without the knowledge and consent of the author?

In the files of Nowakowski's case there is voluminous correspondence sent to him by a person who signed letters with a pseudonym. In an otherwise trivial text there are sentences like "I gave the canary to Hanser"; "The old man in Stockholm is breeding the canaries"; "The carps are slowly spawning"; "Jurek holds you dear in his heart as always, subsequent canaries will please you as they are being raised by the same ornithologist"; "English canaries are slowed down by translation; the ones here are fine because I keep watch over Margitta. Klaus is no good for this, he lacks a sense of humor"; "Good news from Jerzy the ornithologist, I placed well the valuable feathers from the first bird; they are at your disposal"; "We need something more convincing on paper."

Take into account that the English edition of the "Report on Martial Law" was titled "The Canary," and the German one "Carps for the Militia," that the publisher of the German edition is Carl Hanser Verlag and that it was translated by Margitte Wever (although, until now, Nowakowski's German translator was Klaus Staemmler). In Stockholm, the Swedish version was published by the no longer young Adam Bromberg. Giedroyc's first name is Jerzy, and the "Literary Institute" directed by him in Paris is publishing further volumes of Nowakowski's writings and holds literary rights to his works. Thus, even those few sentences will suffice to realize that the letters are from an agent who watches over the publication of Nowakowski's books in the West, manages the plentiful "golden feathers" flowing into a bank account, and orders new, even more aggressive and "more convincing" things.

Without any great difficulty, it was established that the pseudonymous person is a certain Andrzej Jaroslaw Chilecki, who lives in Koln. This former Polish citizen went to Austria in 1959 and "chose freedom" there. He earned his living by recruiting informers and collecting information for Radio Free Europe. Following training in a CIA center in Berchtesgaden, he occupied himself recruiting CIA agents. On the side he was also busy selling information to BND, the West German intelligence service. In 1968, the Military Court for the War-Warsaw District sentenced him in absentia to 10 years in prison and the loss of public and civil rights for activity on behalf of foreign intelligence.

Besides espionage activity, Chilecki has been engaged in activities directed against Poland.

Could M. Nowakowski, who has known A.J. Chilecki for years, be unaware of whom he was dealing with, to whom he entrusted the management of his affairs?

In November 1983, at the Warsaw Okęcie airport, the customs inspection of a Swedish citizen, Lennart I., revealed a quantity of illegal publications, typed texts (written, among others, by M. Nowakowski), taped interviews (with, among others, M. Nowakowski), and antiques, without a required conservators's permission to take them out of the country. Explaining the origin of these objects, he said that he had personally received the texts from M. Nowakowski,

for the purpose of translating them into Swedish and publication in the West. The interview was recorded with Nowakowski's knowledge, who agreed to have it published after Lennart I.'s arrival in Sweden. Concerning financial matters, that is, payment for publication, Lennart I. confessed that it was agreed that the publisher would receive it and later remit the money to the author.

In the proceedings conducted by the Warsaw Tax Chamber it was revealed that in the period from 1980 to March of this year Marek Nowakowski received no less than 8000 Deutschmarks just for the programs broadcast by Suddeutscher Rundfunk in Stuttgart. Contrary to binding regulations, he did not instruct that the money be paid to an account in the Polish National Bank or another authorized Polish bank, nor did he report that he possessed money abroad. Instead, through his translator, he placed the money in an account in a Frankfurt bank. Thus he profited on the difference in exchange rates and also avoided taxes, altogether in Poland and partially in Germany, since German financial authorities did not tax him as much as their own citizens, in accordance with the agreement between Germany in Poland concerning exemption from double taxation.

And what about money for publications? Other broadcasts? Press reprints? The investigation has been closed by the prosecutor. Despite his judgment that actions with which Nowakowski was charged were highly dangerous to society, and as soon as the apprehension about deceptions or other interference with criminal process has abated, the military prosecutor granted a request by the presidium of the Main Board of the Polish Writers Union and other persons, and rescinded temporary [investigative] arrest. The indictment has been filed with the Military Court for the Warsaw District. And this court will decide upon the guilt.

Those who now threaten in Western broadcasts that "this is a dangerous precedent because it opens wide the door to persecution of writers and artists" are lying shamelessly, as are those who claim that this is "another attempt to enslave Polish culture." This is neither a "precedent" nor "another attempt." It is not the writer or his work that is being placed in the dock. It is a case of a citizen who is being charged with activity harmful to the political, moral and financial interests of his own country. Every country lawfully protects its interests and good name, and in spite of a propagandistic pretense, the so-called "Western democracies" are much less liberal and patient in this respect than Poland.

12503

CSO: 2600/1092

## PZPR'S ORZECOWSKI CHALLENGES ADAM SCHAFF

Warsaw ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY in Polish No 28/29 12-15 Jul 84 pp 37-39

[Article by Wojciech Pulkowski: "'The Original Sin' of the Socialist Revolution?"; review of Marian Orzechowski's book "A Dispute on the Marxist Theory of Revolution," published by Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1984]

[Text] The frontal attack on socialism carried on by its declared enemies is understandable and normal. Unfortunately, it also happens that an excessively arbitrary interpretation of statements by the classicists, taken out of context, leads authors considered Marxists into the wilderness of the ideological and political discrediting of real socialism. Polish readers could see for themselves that the above was true from reading articles published last year by Adam Schaff, in which the author presented some of the views included in his book published in German in 1982 in Vienna under the title: "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads."

Many of the theses set forth by Adam Schaff in these articles met with sharp criticism in the press. Press debates, however, by their nature are fragmentary and dispersed. One must, therefore, note with satisfaction the publication of a work by Prof Marian Orzechowski, entitled: "A Dispute on the Marxist Theory of Revolution," published by Książka i Wiedza.

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In the "Introduction," Prof Marian Orzechowski thus describes his book: "The views of Schaff are not an individual or separate phenomenon. They are part of the historical continuum of the revision of the views of Marx, Engels, and Lenin under the slogans of 'creative Marxism' and 'return to Marx,' and of the disputes carried on for decades about the revolution and socialism, their essence, contemporary sense and ways leading to them. The book I present to the readers is a voice in these disputes. In debating the views of A. Schaff, and somewhat on the margin of this polemic, I discuss in it only some aspects of the theory of socialist revolution and of real socialism, which is now already developing on all continents."

The author is unduly modest in the presentation of his book, because the work contains an extensively documented explanation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution. It shows how the classics of Marxism-Leninism in concrete historical conditions shaped their views on the tactics of the worker

movement; how not to read the thought of Marx, Engels, and Lenin (i.e., abstractly), and how to read it (i.e., taking into consideration the historical context). It also contains a discussion on the dilemmas created by the development of the revolution, the evaluation of Polish experiences in the years 1944-55, and the like. On this basis, Prof Orzechowski refutes Schaff's thesis on the, so called, "original sin" of the socialist revolution, which supposedly weighs heavily over the whole history of the countries of real socialism, and which is the leitmotif of all of Schaff's publications.

This "original sin," according to Adam Schaff, consists in the fact that until now all the victorious socialist revolutions have been carried out prematurely, before the objective conditions which Marxism considers necessary for the success of the socialist revolution had matured. These objective conditions were that the development of the forces of production were to be at such a level to allow the distribution of the common wealth immediately after the revolution.

Schaff attempts to "support" this thesis with a fragment from the "German Ideology" by Marx and Engels, in which the classicists wrote about the conditions for overcoming alienation. On the pages of "A Dispute on the Marxist Theory of Revolution" (pp 28-42), the author convincingly shows that in this case the "classics were doubly misrepresented: by treating as something absolute and unchangeable one of their works and one of its fragments, and by ascribing to them opinions and categories not present in the original text. Further "sins" result from such a "justified" thesis, something Schaff ascribes to real socialism. These are: general alienation, total compulsion, incapacity for reforms and development, and the like. In other words: the existence of the countries of real socialism makes the development of the "true," "proper" socialism, impossible, and it can be created only in the rich countries of Western Europe, peacefully, by way of utilizing the free play of political forces of capitalist countries.

These inevitable consequences resulting from the "original sin" are contradicted by the clearly visible reality of the contemporary world, as Prof Marian Orzechowski points out in his book. These are: the economic, social and cultural development of nations building socialism, despite an incessant attack on them by world imperialism on all possible planes, including military aggression. How imperialism acts in a case when the forces of the social left come to power by legal means the whole world had the opportunity to see from the example of the tragedy of the Chilean nation. When one does not see this, it is completely understandable that one does not notice the democratic changes of the political system taking place in socialist countries.

In the case of Poland, the "original sin" of the revolution also had its subjective aspect. In the opinion of Adam Schaff, the Polish left in 1944 in a most conscious way ignored the moods dominant in the country, whose attitude was hostile toward any socialist changes that were a visible "gift from the Russians." In these peremptory assertions, Schaff refers to the, so called, "Theses" by Alfred Lampe. The book shows in detail how tendentiously Schaff interpreted and used them (pp 255-261).

Also false is the picture of Polish society, which Schaff presents as anti-Soviet and hostile to socialism. This results from the error of not noticing the differentiation of attitudes of particular classes and groups in Polish society of that time. The process of changes in the social consciousness of the Polish nation taking place then was noted with concern by people connected with the London emigre government. Prof Orzechowski quotes in his book the following interesting examples:

"By the end of 1943, the Commander in Chief of the Home Army sent a cable to London with this message: 'Under the influence of German terror and Russian victories, the anti-Soviet attitude is weakening in society and the atmosphere of receiving the Soviets as rescuers is being generated. In these conditions, the USSR may become an attractive force also because of its social system.'" ... "The Commander in Chief of the Home Army noted in May 1944: 'A considerable shift of the world outlook to the left. Strong radicalization, particularly among peasants and the less affluent intelligentsia. Nearly general demand for social control of the economic life, liquidation of the accumulation of wealth in private hands above a certain minimum and privileges for individuals or social groups. The authorities which would try to halt this process would expose the country to heavy upheavals.'"

In such a situation the Polish left could not hesitate when confronted with the problem of seizing power. The problem was of a different, more serious nature: How to use the power they had seized for the purpose of carrying out socialist transformations in the ruined country.

The road of the first years of building socialism in our country was rough, and the external conditions for this work were not favorable either. Errors and distortions could not be avoided. The author presents the tragic aspect of the years 1944-55 in the most comprehensive chapter of his book (pp 263-323). This chapter also provides testimony against Schaff's views, presenting the real life dilemmas of the new people's power.

No one, neither Marx, Engels, Lenin, nor any Marxist ever said that the road to socialism of any nation would be straight and smooth, and that the goals would be reached with the speed of light. Thanks to the "original sin" committed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and by the communists that followed them in other countries, millions of people have embarked on the road to socialism and with great effort are moving forward on it. This is taking place in the most unfavorable internal and external conditions in history, and in an unrelentingly hostile environment.

What, then, is the essence of this "original sin"?

"From the point of view of the interests and character of the imperialist environment hostile to socialism," writes Prof Marian Orzechowski, "the 'original sin' of the socialist revolution was that it won and did not surrender, as the Paris Commune had done, to internal and external enemies, but was able to defend itself effectively against them. On the other hand, the 'original sin' of the socialism being created was that it began to realize



the ideas of social justice and people's power. Both of these ideas have constituted a great and steady challenge to capitalism, forcing it to make changes in the strategy of defending itself and to make socioeconomic and political concessions on behalf of the working class. This is the great historical role of real socialism." (pp 366-367).

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Critical thought is necessary for the prosperous development of the practice of socialist construction. This criticism, however, must take fully into consideration the actual economic, political and cultural conditions of the development of socialism in a given historical moment. The purpose of such criticism is to strengthen the positive changes brought by socialist construction and to overcome the errors committed during that period. We find such critical evaluations in the documents of Marxist-Leninist parties and in many works of Marxist scientists.

What does not serve socialism, but on the contrary, harms it, is criticism detached from reality and carried out from the point of view of abstract models and arbitrary formulas created by the followers of the "pure" theory. Only from such intellectual soil can sprout the thesis that the real process of creating socialism is "nonsocialist," "non-Marxist," etc. The practical conclusion from such "theoretical" thinking is generally the same: there is no sense in consolidating real socialism and the process of its further construction must be abandoned as soon as possible. The acceptance of such counsel would amount to a gradual suicide of socialism.

Prof Marian Orzechowski's book, in which the reader will find both a critical concern for the development of socialism, and a censure of abstract criticism which is so harmful to socialism, is therefore worthy of careful reading.

12270  
CSO: 2600/1138

NEW LAW ON PLANNING COMMISSION

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 35, 19 Jul 84 item 186 pp 463-465

[Text] Law Dated 12 July 1984 on the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers

Art 1. 1. The Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, hereinafter called "Planning Commission," is the chief organ of state administration in matters of socioeconomic planning and the plan for the country's territorial development.

2. The Planning Commission organizes planning on a nationwide scale in accordance with the law on socioeconomic planning and other laws pertaining to planning, and drafts improvements to the system of economic management and functioning so as to strengthen the socioeconomic foundations of the socialist system.

Art. 2. The Planning Commission's scope of operation includes the initiation, direction and control of the preparation of drafts, analyses, and evaluations of the implementation of long-range plans, national socioeconomic plans, central annual plans, and the plan for the country's territorial development. In particular, the Planning Commission's scope of operations includes the initiation, direction and control of work on the:

- 1) assumptions of socioeconomic policy and principles of policy on the country's territorial development, and programs for resolving basic problems in this field,
- 2) variants of assumptions and drafts of long-range plans, the plan for the country's territorial development, national socioeconomic plans and central plans, together with the economic instruments and parameters which define the conditions of operation of state enterprises and other economic institutions,
- 3) conduct of preplanning studies and studies pertaining to the country's basic socioeconomic problems, and the development of long-range forecasts which give consideration to the country's social goals and the factors which determine its development,
- 4) preparation of long-term assumptions on the development of economic relations with foreign countries, including the participation of the Polish People's

Republic in socialist economic integration and the bilateral and multilateral coordination of socioeconomic plans with member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and other socialist countries,

- 5) development of assumptions on investment and investment-locating policies as well as matters regarding central investments,
- 6) development of assumptions on policies of structural transformations in the national economy and directions of scientific and technical progress, with consideration to the country's demographics, labor resources, courses of training of qualified cadres, and other factors and determinants in this area,
- 7) balancing of basic raw materials, energy, materials and products,
- 8) preparation of current and periodic analyses, evaluations and forecasts of socioeconomic development and the implementation of central plans,
- 9) preparation of assessments of the functioning of the system of directing and managing the national economy and developing, based on the results of these assessments, proposals for changing and improving this system, including instruments and parameters for controlling the economy, in order to ensure the effective implementation of central plans and especially to develop the economy and improve its efficiency.

Art 3. 1. The Planning Commission is made up of:

- 1) the Chairman of the Planning Commission,
- 2) members of the Presidium of the Planning Commission,
- 3) members.

2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the request of the Chairman of the Planning Commission:

- 1) establishes the chief and central organs of state administrations, whose representatives are members of the Planning Commission; the representatives of these organs are appointed by a minister or the manager of the central office,
- 2) appoints other members of the Planning Commission from among state, economic and social activists and scientific workers.

2. The Presidium of the Planning Commission is comprised of:

- 1) the Chairman of the Planning Commission,
- 2) the first vice-chairman and the vice-chairmen of the Planning Commission,
- 3) the Minister of Finance.

4. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the request of the Chairman of the Planning Commission, may also appoint other persons to the Presidium of the Planning Commission.

5. The meetings of the Presidium of the Planning Commission are attended by the President of the Polish National Bank. Other persons, invited by the Chairman of the Planning Commission, may also attend.

Art 4. The tasks of the Planning Commission are executed by the Chairman of the Planning Commission, the Presidium of the Planning Commission--within the scope described in Art 6, and by the Planning Commission--within the scope described in Art 5.

Art 5. At its plenary meetings the Planning Commission examines and evaluates the:

- 1) assumptions of socioeconomic policy and the country's territorial policy,
- 2) selected programs for resolving the country's basic problems,
- 3) assumptions on long-range plans, national socioeconomic plans and central annual plans, and the plan for the country's territorial development,
- 4) principles and procedures for conducting social consultation on assumptions and drafts of plans and the results of these consultations,
- 5) yearly analyses of the execution of the national socioeconomic plans,
- 6) proposals for improving the system for directing and managing the national economy,
- 7) other matters brought up by the Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Art 6. The Presidium of the Planning Commission:

- 1) examines drafts of long-range plans, drafts of variants of national socioeconomic plans and central annual plans, drafts of national socioeconomic plans and central annual plans (including those relating to government orders and operational programs), the draft plan for the country's territorial development, and drafts of reports of the execution of these plans,
- 2) examines the analyses and assessments of the execution of central plans,
- 3) makes, in consultation with the pertinent chief and central organs of state administration, coordinational decisions on the preparation of central plans and economic programs of an interministerial nature,
- 4) investigates other matters brought up by the Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Art 7. 1. The Chairman of the Planning Commission directs the work of the Planning Commission and its Presidium, and represents the Planning Commission on the outside.

2. The Chairman of the Planning Commission, on the basis of laws and in order to implement them, issues orders and directives and performs other tasks specified in the laws.

3. The Chairman of the Planning Commission calls the Sejm into session as provided in art 37 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

Art 8. In particular, the Chairman of the Planning Commission:

1) by way of an order establishes:

- a) the principles governing the preparation of drafts of central plans,
  - b) the methods for conducting cost-effective analyses and methods for evaluating the activities of institutions in the socialized economy,
- 2) directs the development of planning-information systems for the needs of forecasting, central planning, analyses and evaluations of the implementation of central plans and the country's socioeconomic situation,
- 3) analyzes the conformity of the plans of the state enterprises and other institutions of the socialized economy with the goals of the central plans,
- 4) formulates proposals pertaining to the establishment of instruments and parameters which would ensure the implementation of economic policy,
- 5) sends planning information to state enterprises and other organizational units and utilizes the planning information of these units.

Art 9. In implementing the competence assigned to him and the tasks defined for him, the Chairman of the Planning Commission:

- 1) in cooperation with the Minister of Finance and the President of the Polish National Bank, ensures that the socioeconomic plans are mutually in agreement with the finance plans,
- 2) conducts social consultation on drafts of program assumptions, central plans and specific undertakings, particularly with the trade unions, socio-occupational organizations, selected state enterprises, and their workforce self-governments,
- 3) analyzes and evaluates the observance of the principles of socioeconomic planning in the country's territorial subdivision units, in state enterprises and in other institutions of the socialized economy, while preserving the self-dependence and self-government of the planning units,

- 4) ensures the utilization of reports prepared by the state statistical offices and banks, and stimulates these institutions to conduct specific studies and analyses,
- 5) presents draft plans, analyses and evaluations, together with proposals and other matters which require resolution by these organs, to the Council of Ministers, the Government Presidium, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Art 10. The issuance of orders, directives and other legal instruments by the chief and central organs of state administration and the presentation to the government of draft resolutions or decisions of an economic nature, containing provisions or conclusions which may cause a change in the determinations embodied in the central plans, requires prior coordination with the Chairman of the Planning Commission. Uncoordinated divergencies are resolved by the Council of Ministers.

Art 11. 1. The Planning Commission, its Presidium and Chairman, execute their tasks with the help of the Planning Commission office.

2. The organization of the Planning Commission office and the organizational units subordinated to the Chairman of the Planning Commission is defined by a statute issued by the Council of Ministers.

Art 12. The Council of Ministers, by way of an order, defines the detailed scope of operations of the Planning Commission, its Presidium and its Chairman.

Art 13. 1. The words "Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers," used in applicable cases in the decree dated 6 May 1953 on Mining Law (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1978, No 4, item 12) in art 88 and 89, are replaced in these same cases by the words "Minister of Mining and Energy."

2. In the law dated 24 October 1974 on Construction Law (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 38, item 229; 1981, No 12, item 57; and 1983, No 44, items 200 and 201) in art 33, par 9, the words "Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers" are replaced by the words "Minister of Administration and Land-Use Management."

Art 14. The law dated 15 November 1956 on the establishment of a Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers and the abolition of a State Commission for Economic Planning (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 54, item 244) is no longer in force.

Art 15. The law is effective on the date of publication.

Chairman of the Council of State: /s/ H. Jablonski  
Secretary of the Council of State: /s/ J. Szymanek

9295

CSO: 2600/1145

## NEW 'NOT' LEADERSHIP ROSTER

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 29, 15 Jul 84 p 3

[Text] New Leadership of the Federation of Scientific and Technical Associations (SNT), Chief Technical Organization (NOT)

The term of office of the elected officials of the highest parliament of Polish engineers and technicians has come to an end. During the general assemblies of the individual associations, which affiliate approximately 200,000 engineers, 240,000 technicians, and 40,000 other members (teachers, economists, craftsmen, etc.), new delegates were elected to the NOT Main Council which met on 25 and 26 June 1984 at a field meeting in Poswietne near Plonsk.

The Council evaluated the activity of the Federation of Scientific and Technical Associations during 1981-1984, its organizational elements, and elected new leaders.

Prof Janusz Szosland (SWP) was reelected chairman of the NOT Main Council. Prof Jan Kaczmarek (SIMP) was elected president of NOT. Kazimierz Wawrzyniak (SIMP) was reelected to the post of secretary general of NOT, and Ryszard Chojak (SEP) is now chairman of the Main Audit Commission. From among four candidates, two deputy chairmen of the Main Council were elected: Dr Bogdan Kurant (SITPChem) and Prof Jerzy Szyrmer (SITR).

Next, the NOT Main Council members were elected. These are: Tadeusz Bialobrzesci (SWP), Sylwester Bielenin (SITO), Dr Kazimierz Czarnecki (SGP), Ryszard Cygan (SITNiG), Stanislaw Deska (SITR), Jerzy Dyakowski (SITSpoz), Wieslaw Goralczyk (STC), Zdzislaw Hyla (SITK), Dr Henryk Jaworski (SITPoz), Prof Stanislaw Kajfasz (PZITB), Prof Lech Lewandowski (STOP), Adam Mazur (SITPChem), Edmund Nowicki (SITLiD), Andrzej Paszkiewicz (SITPMB), Prof Czeslaw Pustelnik (SITPP), Kazimierz Sada (SITPH), Jacek Szpotanski (SEP), Prof Witold Wasilewski (PZITS), Dr Tadeusz Zastawnik (SITG), and Zenon Wojciak (SITWM).

Representatives of those SNT, who for various reasons did not submit their representatives at the last meeting of the Main Council, will be added to the NOT Main Council at a later time.



The newly elected NOT Main Council at its first meeting elected the following vice-presidents of NOT: Wieslaw Goralczyk (STC), Zdzislaw Hyla (SITK) and Dr Tadeusz Zastawnik (SITG).

More information on the NOT Main Council meeting and the new leadership will be published in further issues of PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY.

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END